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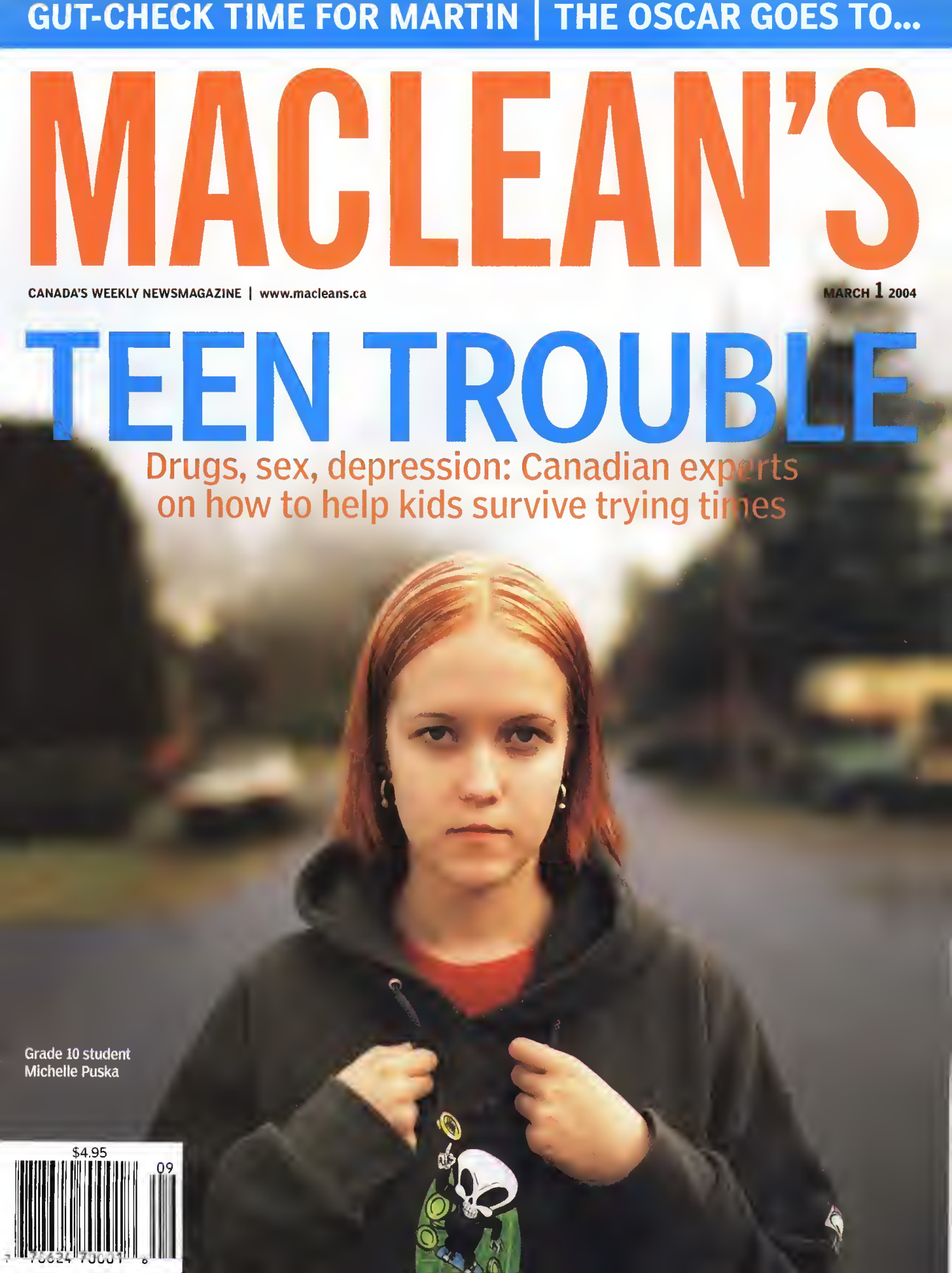
MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | www.macleans.ca

MARCH 1 2004

TEEN TROUBLE

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Grade 10 student Michelle Puska

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18 Scandal has sent the Liberals plummeting in the polls. But Paul Martin may still be looking to test the electoral waters.

43 James Bartleman: ex-diplomat and now lieutenant-governor.





22 Australia lost its innocence in the First World War.

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COVER: PHOTOMAAPH BY BRIAN HOWELL

MACLEAN'S

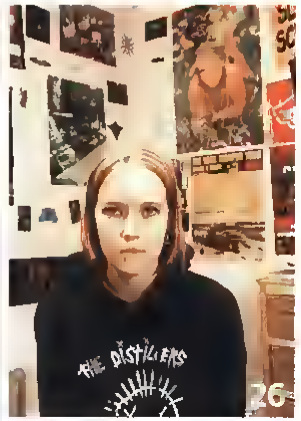
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Cover Story

DEALING WITH TEEN TROUBLE

Our experts suggest how to cope with common issues, and kids describe what it's like for them.

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: TOM HANSON/CP; PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S; PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HOWELL; FRANCIS SPECKER/PA PHOTO; CORBIS MAGMA



THEY'RE SO SORRY (NOT)

When it comes to apologizing for sins, the Liberals are not unlike small children

OUR SON, who soon turns three, deals with his transgressions in ways familiar to many parents. Caught doing something he isn't supposed to, he denies it, then blames someone else—whoever is closest at hand—and, if that fails, tries to minimize the significance of what he did. Finally, when it becomes clear that all other options are closed, he stares at the floor and mutters "I'm sorry" in words spoken so quickly that it's difficult to hear them. It's quite clear, of course, that he doesn't really regret whatever he did, rather, he's sorry he was caught. And once he's apologized, he expects things to move on, and to never hear about his sins again.

I'm thinking, therefore, that perhaps I should buy him a Liberal Party of Canada membership card for his birthday. The Liberal logo has that bright red that he likes, Liberals give each other such imaginative, expensive presents—and he could hang around with so many other people of similar mind set. That last bit is, of course, the problem that's just the sort of behaviour we're trying to drum out of him—while bearing in mind that he's two, so he has an excuse.

So the Liberals' attitude last week—declaring that everyone should stop talking so much about the more than $100 million in fees and commissions given to Liberal-connected communications agencies—brought new meaning to Tip O'Neill's famous dictum that "all politics is local." In this case, we see the same behaviour in Ottawa and our playroom on a regular basis: denial, buck passing, minimizing, a hasty apology, and lack of real repentance overall. Give this to Paul Martin: the problem *doesn't* seem to start at the top, since he's been everywhere, apologizing, hand wringing, and promising all manner of action to ensure such abuses don't happen again. It's almost—but not quite—enough to excuse the astonishing assertion that, despite his prominence in cabinet and his own formidable political machine in Quebec, he didn't know much about what Jean Chrétien was up to for all these years.

That last bit is troubling, but what's more annoying is the nostalgia for Chrétien among Liberals who feel Martin is apologizing *too much*. They suggest that Chrétien would have reacted by saying as little as possible and minimizing the importance of what took place. They're probably right: as PM, he boasted for years (until he had to do otherwise) that, unlike Brian Mulroney, he never fired a minister because of scandal. The problem was that several Liberal ministers faced scandals: the PM simply did little about it. So as a claim, it was akin to an alcoholic who says that if he doesn't go to AA, there isn't a problem.

> **"It's the same behaviour as the playroom: denial, buck-passing, minimizing, a fast apology, a lack of real repentance"**

The three longest-serving prime ministers in recent decades all ended their time in office with legacies tainted by patronage. Pierre Trudeau began by promising a government of "new guys with new ideas" and ended with an orgy of appointments that enraged the country. Brian Mulroney said he would behave otherwise, but didn't. Chrétien promised to be the anti-Mulroney in this regard, but if anything surpassed him in the rewarding of friends. Now it's Martin's turn, and if he's serious about trying to turn a page on the past (and the verdict's not in), the biggest drag on those efforts will be members of his own party. Who's sorry now? Not Liberals—until, perhaps, election time.

Anthony Wilson-Smith

response@macleans.ca to comment on The Editor's Letter

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MACLEAN'S BEHINDTHESCENES



PHOTO SARA-JANE PEARCE

DESIGN EXCELLENCE

In 2003, *Maclean's* became the consumer magazine in Canada most honoured for design excellence, receiving recognition from several Canadian and international awards competitions.

The prestigious Advertising and Design Club of Canada presented *Maclean's* with more awards than any other publication in Canada. Six silvers and 10 awards of merit were won in categories such as portrait photography, illustration, magazine covers and art direction for a single magazine spread. After receiving five nominations in graphics categories (the most of any mainstream magazine), *Maclean's* won a Gold Award for spot illustration at the 26th Annual National Magazine Awards (*Pills, Profits and Perils* by freelancer Greg Mably, Sept. 2, 2002).

"Considering we were competing with the best publications in Canada—and in some cases the world—in fashion, travel and business, it's wonderful to see our newsmagazine win some much-deserved recognition," says Art Director Donna Breggins.

The awards list goes on. The *Applied Arts* annual features the best design, advertising, photography and illustration in North America. *Maclean's* was recognized in several categories. The *Communication Arts* photography annual has recognized the "*Who's My Birth Father?*" cover photo by Fredrik Broden (May 20, 2002). And the illustration by Joe Morse accompanying "*A Father's Day Lament*" in the June 16th, 2003 issue was selected to be showcased in the 46th annual exhibition of the Society of Illustrators in New York City.

***Maclean's* also received the Certificate of Excellence in type design from the Type Directors Club—an international organization based in New York devoted to excellence in typography. The award was for work done by renowned Canadian typographer Rod McDonald who was commissioned by *Maclean's* to create the only custom face for a Canadian magazine. It was the first time a Canadian magazine received the award.**

"It's gratifying to see that in the ongoing process of providing the best magazine we can to our readers, we're also being noticed and celebrated by our peers," says Braggins.

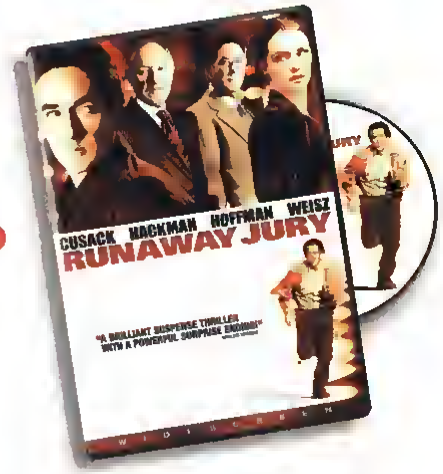
To view the gallery of winning entries to the Advertising and Design Club of Canada, visit *www.macleans.ca/aboutmacleans*

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'Since when are there rules that someone like Belinda Stronach with no previous experience or a university degree can't head a political party?' —CRAIG PEARSON, Sudbury Ont

Rick's world

Your article on Rick Mercer was fantastic ("Rick's shtick," Cover, Feb 16). Not only is he a proud Canadian, but Mercer manages to see the issues clearly and then states what the rest of us are thinking. I nominate Rick Mercer to be our next governor general.

Brian Cant, Victoria

Thank you for your cover story on Rick Mercer. I enjoyed the background and insight into our family's favourite comic. I have a suggestion for Mercer that might help him decide about his future: run for prime minister! After all, the U.S. has elected actors to high political office and Mercer is far more intelligent, insightful and fair-minded than they are—or any Canadian politician. In the wake of scandals, corruption and this unbelievably tolerant culture of fraud in government, I think it's high time for a big change. He's got my vote.

Albert Kaprielian, Kingston, Ont.

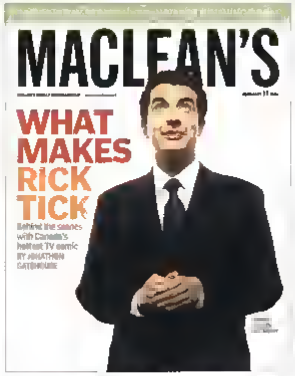
I don't care whether Rick Mercer (or anyone else) is gay or straight, and most people I know would agree that his sexual orientation has nothing to do with our enjoyment of his razor-sharp political satire. Your inclusion of that tidbit of his private life is frivolous titillation that does not belong in an article highlighting Mercer's significant talents.

Sandy Kemsley, Toronto

Smooth reign

Although I am about the furthest thing from a conservative, I did find Brian Bergman's article "King Ralph's long reign" (Alberta, Feb. 16) entertaining and relatively informative. However, I thought it missed one key point in its attempt to understand Klein's long-standing popularity. Alberta has to be one of the easiest jurisdictions on the entire planet to govern. How hard is it to be the premier of a province that, due to its enormous energy wealth, posts a budget surplus year after year? A province that has more money than it knows what to do with. I don't think Klein would appear quite so brilliant or have remained so popular if he had to govern a province like Manitoba.

Devon Parker, The Pas, Man.



Four more years?

I was at my local ski resort having lunch when I was handed the *Maclean's* with the George W. Bush cover, "Hope you lose, eh" (Feb. 9). I found this to be embarrassing as we have many American visitors to our ski resort and many Americans in general will read that cover. I think this makes for bad relations with our closest neighbours and, although I am not very fond of Mr. Bush, I think we should be polite to the American people if we want them to be polite to us.

Connie MacKinnon, Castlegar, B.C.

Bushwacked | Canadians say this is no way to treat the U.S. President

Our Feb. 9 cover "Hope you lose, eh," with a grim-faced George W. Bush, first drew the ire of proud Americans. But the second wave of mail is more balanced, with homegrown critics arguing over whether our cover package was insensitive, even if one dislikes Bush. Garth Borthistle of Cloverdale, B.C., for one, wrote: "To sink to America-bashing is belittling."

At the point when Paul Martin calls an election, imagine the outrage that would ensue throughout Canada if an American news-magazine were to feature a similar cover. Such a cover, featuring a large photo of the Prime Minister (scowling slightly, as I am sure he does on occasion) and a clever headline such as, "Americans to Martin: Hope you lose, eh," would be rightfully regarded as offensive and insensitive—and your magazine would surely echo most Canadians in deploring such a tasteless intrusion into the Canadian electoral process.

Richard Wells, Pittsburgh

As a Canadian living away, just a quick note to say thank you for your chutzpah, moxie and clarity. I now know that Canada is publicly what I've always known it to be in person: a freethinking land, unafraid of and separate from the U.S., and fully secure in its own opinions. Congratulations!

Ann Miller, Skokie, Ill.

I've just run an informal poll of American voters and found that less than 10 per cent even know that Paul Martin is PM. Remarkably, even less care who Canada picks for PM. Just seven per cent (mostly with relatives in Canada) expressed any opinion on who should be PM. In fact, when polled, Don Cherry had more name recognition than Martin or Jean Chretien. Americans by a wide margin felt that Canada should mind its own business, with 90 per cent either strongly agreeing or somewhat agreeing with the statement: "Canada should stick to screwing up its own country and not try to screw up ours, eh."

Brad Benson, Spokane, Wash.

Best title of an article I have ever seen.

Lisa Steglich, New York City

You perfectly captured why I and millions more Americans so dislike Bush. The smug grin, the "cowboy" walk, the arrogance and the ignorance. And that says nothing of his disastrous policies. I'm embarrassed that he is president of my country. Your readers should know that there are millions of Americans who hope our country and the world do not have another four years of him.

James Newton, Des Moines, Iowa

As a Canadian living in the U.S. since 1977, I am delighted that we had a Churchill in the White House when the U.S. was attacked on



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The 3M Teaching Fellowship Awards

How to nominate yourself or a fellow teacher.

Eligibility. Anyone teaching at a Canadian university is eligible regardless of discipline or level of appointment. Candidates do not need to be members of the Society for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education (STLHE).

Criteria for the award. Candidates must demonstrate two things: Excellence in teaching over a number of years, principally (but not exclusively) at undergraduate level, and a commitment to improving university teaching – with a particular emphasis on contributions beyond the candidate's discipline or profession.

The award. Up to ten awards are presented annually. Fellowship winners will attend an all expenses paid three-day retreat at the Fairmont le Chateau Montebello from November 6-8, 2004.

Nomination procedure. Nominations must be submitted in the form of a dossier by March 5, 2004. You can find the specific details of what the dossier must include, as well as general guidance on preparing and submitting a nomination, at the 3M Teaching Fellowship website, www.mcmaster.ca/3Mteachingfellowships

3M *Innovation*

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Some Americans write to say that they, too, hope Bush does not win re-election in the fall

Sept. 11, rather than the Chamberlain we had the previous eight years. You can be sure that if Canada suffers from some disaster, natural or otherwise, the U.S. will be the first to help. I regretfully believe that the reciprocal isn't the case, and I feel ashamed as a Canadian.

Dr. David McDonald, Pasadena, Texas

Wouldn't *Maclean's* interest be better served by polling Canadians on how they managed to suffer—in silence—through 10 years of a Chrétien regime that misappropriated public funds, eviscerated the military and shamelessly enriched itself? Where was the outrage? Perhaps Canadians should challenge their own politicians to reflect their will before deciding whether or not to re-elect George W. Bush.

Ry Ward, Hampton, N.H.

Prime-time tune out

I agree that many American TV shows are more fantasy than reality ("Unreality television," Essay, Feb. 16). But I have to ask: is this not the entire point of television?

Tammy Gaiffus, Calgary

Yes, Canadian and American TV programs differ greatly. However, to understand why, we have to look at what the two populations want. Many American shows such as *Friends* and *Will & Grace* avoid politics and current events because the public watches these shows to escape—to be entertained, not informed. Canada's top homegrown programs focus on current issues because when we want entertainment, we turn on the American stations. When it comes to prime time television, ignorance is bliss.

Trevor MacKenzie, Hamilton

Congratulations on pointing out the amazing ability of American—and Canadian—TV to blatantly ignore any issue of the day. For a long time, I have wanted to see just one prime-time show ask a challenging question that would force viewers to think. Ignoring issues that affect the lives of everyday Canadians and Americans is a staple characteristic of network TV. It seems to draw in ratings, so why should the networks change?

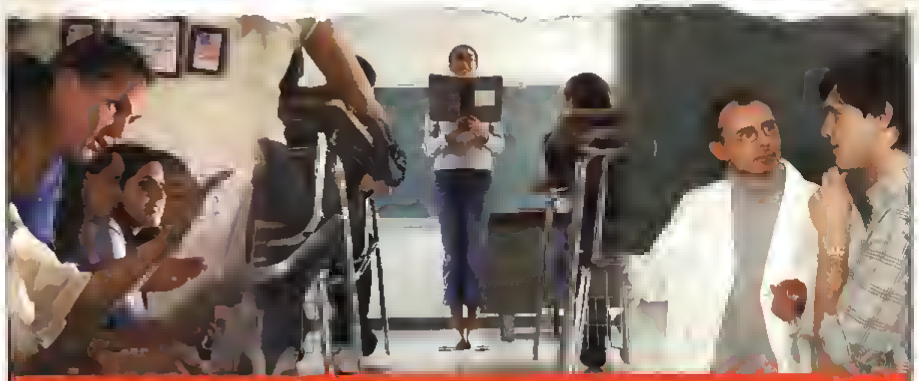
Colin Rose, Meaford, Ont.

Food for thought

While no one should claim that the modern food supply system is perfect, it's fair to note that it is undoubtedly better than ever before, that it continues to improve and that differences in food production systems do not nearly break out into simple good and bad categorizations ("Tainted food," Cover, Jan. 26). Canada's food safety regulatory bodies provide extensive assessment, inspection and verification designed to protect against food-related risks and effectively manage problems that may occur. Life expectancy in Canada is among the highest in the world—and has steadily increased over the last century.

Craig J. Pearson, Dean, Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Ont.

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS/VI



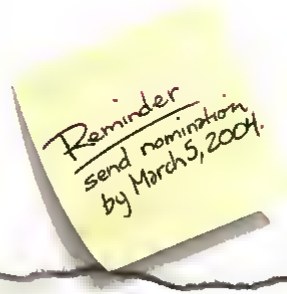
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University students across Canada benefit from the collaboration and leadership of 3M Fellowship Award Winners as they work together to tackle educational issues important to our children's futures. Together, 3M and STLHE are helping students prepare for their futures by emphasizing critical thinking and life-long learning skills. Teamwork, appreciation of diversity, and effective communication skills are also key elements that are being addressed thanks to the involvement of 3M and STLHE.

At 3M we are committed to improving education for the students of tomorrow and we are proud to provide a forum in which experiences are shared, and ideas are encouraged that will benefit students' lives and futures.

To learn more about the awards and how we are making a difference visit http://www.mcmaster.ca/3Mteachingfellowships



3M *Innovation*

ScoreCard

▼ **Citizen Chrétien:** Ex-PM fobs off reporters on sponsorship scandal on his watch. Says no longer in government so "I don't think any more." Jokey response goes over like a Liberal at an auditors convention. Country wants to know: what was he thinking? Then and now.

▼ **Border guards:** American woman gets lost on Interstate and ends up at Canadian border instead of Vancouver, Wash., 400 km to the south. Turns out she has a hand grenade in glove compartment. Customs believe her—husband's car, he's in military, she didn't know—let her go. Awfully trusting. Or did they think she was coming up to re-stock the Canadian armed forces?

▲ **Buckshot:** British widow commemorates death of shotgun-loving husband by having his ashes loaded into cartridges. Twenty close friends bag pheasants, ducks and a fox as James Booth, who died after a bout of food poisoning, goes out with a bang.

▼ **Newfie joking:** Millionaire Premier Danny Williams gets raked over the coals for joking with *Maclean's* that today's legislators are no longer half drunk, "they're completely drunk." No wonder so many top comics come from the Rock. They don't get it at home.

▲ **Kinky Canucks:** International sex study says Canadians much more faithful than Brits or Americans. Possibly because nearly a third resort to handcuffs and bondage to enhance sex life. Marriage: Ball and chain. So that's what it means.



Bracing for an environmental battle in the Queen Charlotte Basin

Resources | Will oil rigs dot B.C.'s hallowed coast?

In waters where mighty gales can blow up without warning, this was one storm you could see coming. The uproar over offshore oil and gas development on the B.C. coast has been building for decades, with billions of dollars and some of the world's richest, most sensitive ecosystems at stake. Now, with the release of a federally commissioned report recommending an end to exploration bans in the Queen Charlotte Basin, the tempest is coming into view. On one side: a cash-hungry B.C. government, and a handful of oil companies holding resource leases in the area. On the other: environmental, fishing and Native groups who want Canada's western coastline left alone.

The dispute has been muted for three decades by federal and, later, provincial drilling moratoriums, which left an estimated 1.3 billion barrels of oil and 9.8 trillion cubic feet of gas untapped beneath the sea. But last week's report—by a panel of experts assembled by the Royal Society of Canada—concluded those restrictions are now unnecessary, even obstructive, leading to speculation they will soon be lifted. For a province that in recent years has slipped into "have not" status, the news was tantalizing. The panel pegged economic spinoffs at $110 billion, a potential bonanza for B.C.'s Liberal government, which only last week introduced its first balanced budget, and which has talked about seeing offshore payback by as early as 2010.

The downsides? The polluting effects of drilling, the risk of tanker spills, the spectre of an underwater earthquake collapsing an oil platform, with catastrophic results for salmon, otters, sea birds and other marine life. "These things have the potential to just devastate coastal communities," says Jennifer Lash, executive director of the Sointula, B.C.-based Living Oceans Society. To complicate matters, First Nations are claiming title to much of the area in question. Throw in the West Coast's history of bitter environmental battles, and it's safe to predict troubled waters ahead. CHARLIE GILLIS

Quote of the week | 'I think so many of us are lost.' Hamilton-area MP JOHN BRYDEN, 60, quits scandal-struck Liberals and says he might run as a Conservative. He is the eighth MP to change party allegiance since December.



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HONDA

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



MEMO TO PM: GET TOUGH

Martin must introduce reforms to ensure future spending abuses never happen again

NO POLITICIAN should ever dismiss public waste with a cavalier shrug So, almost 21 months ago, when Jean Chrétien stoutly defended dubious payments to Liberal-friendly ad firms, it was clear he had stayed too long "Perhaps there were a few million dollars that might have been stolen in the process," he told partisans, "but how many millions of millions of dollars have we saved because we have re-established the stability of Canada by keeping it a united country?"

Today, we see the results of that disgraceful attitude. When auditor general Sheila Fraser outlined, in excruciating detail, abuses in the $250 million sponsorship program, purportedly designed to raise Ottawa's profile, especially in Quebec, few voters could curb their anger But good may come from this unholy mess the outcry may prod Paul Martin to make long-overdue changes that may deter future abuse They include

■ We must find the resources to begin detailed parliamentary scrutiny of proposed spending in the more than 80 departments and agencies In 1968, all parties agreed to refer estimates to the appropriate committee for review—instead of bringing them before the Commons The aim was to provide time. The catch was, if committees don't report back to the Commons on funding requests by May 31, the money flows through anyway Worse, committees have treated the mammoth estimates as a waste of time—because the government majority has always refused to make changes

This must stop It has put the dignified auditor general in the unenviable position of being the only outside expert who systematically examines spending Hugh Segal, president of the Institute for Research on Public Policy, says MPs should stop dicey programs before they start "The auditor general has had to become more concerned and intense because parliamentary oversight has weakened," he says "If there had been real parliamentary control, questions about sponsorship spending could have been asked *before* the spending took place."

■ Martin should strengthen ethics legislation now before Parliament As Ottawa based Democracy Watch notes, the bill creating an ethics commissioner for ministers and MPs and a Senate ethics officer still allows the PM to select those overseers, permits secret advice to ministers and does not allow the public to file complaints—or ask the court to review the ethics rulings Worse, the PM may overturn decisions that declare he or his ministers have broken the code

■ He must introduce stronger protection for *all* whistle-blowers—not just the ones who assist the sponsorship inquiry That means an independent enforcement agency with the power to investigate allegations—and to protect and reward whistle-blowers Imagine how much we could have saved if a conscientious civil servant had felt safe enough to report sponsorship abuse

■ The line must be drawn between advertising government programs and promoting the governing party "It is not clear that spending taxpayers' dollars to remind people of the importance of the federal government should be a public policy goal," observes Segal dryly

The new PM has been doing his best So far As Liberal pollster Michael Marzolini says: "He's taking the people's side as one of the people who has been ripped off" His next job is to do what his predecessor so shamefully neglected to do: make sure that it does not happen again M

> "Imagine how much we could have saved if a conscientious civil servant had felt safe enough to report sponsorship abuse

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer mary.janigan@macleans.rogers.com

FaceTime

Showdown

Paul Okalik, Nunavut's first premier since the new territory was created on April 1, 1999, handily won re-election—though the real showdown is still to come. Because there is no party politics in the territory, Okalik will face off for the top job in a legislature vote on March 5 against Tagak Curley—a respected Inuit politician who emerged from retirement to run for territorial premier. A veteran of the constitutional wars of the 1980s, and considered one of the founding fathers of Nunavut, Curley was acclaimed in Rankin Inlet North.



Yankee[illegible]h box

All-star infielder Alex Rodriguez was finally traded from the Texas Rangers to the New York Yankees in a swing-for-the-fences deal that stunned even the jaded millionaires of professional sport. The Rangers continue to pay US$67 million of the remaining US$179 million on A-Rod's contract, while the Yankees' payroll soars to nearly US$200 million a year. He and star shortstop Derek Jeter will earn more this year than some clubs pay their entire 25-member rosters



[illegible] refuge

Nabih Ayoub, 69 (below) is one of three Palestinian Christians with no house, no money and no passport who have been granted refuge in Notre Dame de Grâce Church in Montreal after Ottawa ordered them deported on Feb 3 They acknowledge sneaking into Canada three years ago, but say they were shunted from their homeland to refugee camps with the creation of Israel in 1949 and recent wars Ayoub's brother Khalil Ayoub, 67, is sleeping in the memorial crypt of Montreal's first mayor In the basement of the church.



Forgiving

Terry Waite, the 64 year-old British aid worker who was held hostage in Lebanon for almost five years by militant Muslims, returned to that country for the first time since his release in September 1991 A special envoy for the Archbishop of Canterbury Waite was trying to negotiate the release of other western hostages when he himself was captured. Back now on behalf of a YMCA development agency, Waite said he'd be willing to meet with his captors and bears no grudges.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: BOB WEBER/CP; MARCOS TOWNSEND/THE GAZETTE, AP PHOTO; MARY ALTAFFER/AP

WORLD

HAITI Beleaguered President Jean Bertrand Aristide's plea for international military assistance fell on deaf ears as rebels, reportedly bolstered by thugs from the murderous Duvalier era, moved to take over Haiti's second-largest city, Cap Haitien. Canada volunteered $1.5 million in aid and said it would consider sending 100 police—but only after Aristide stepped down or brokered some sort of peace with his opponents.

GAY MARRIAGE Like refugees, gay couples lined up in the rain outside San Francisco city hall after its mayor gave the green light to same sex marriage. The state of California said it wouldn't accept the more than 2,800 certificates issued, but three ensuing lawsuits in California and talk of constitutional amendments across the U.S. pushed the issue to the top of the political agenda.

IMMIGRATION Long Europe's liberal experimenter, Holland passed a controversial plan to expel up to 26,000 failed asylum seekers, many of whom had been living in the Netherlands for years. The bill sparked mass demonstrations and threats of hunger strikes by refugee groups. Under the plan, about 2,300 will be granted amnesty.

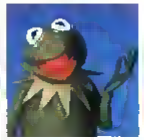
PRIMARIES Former Vermont governor Howard Dean, whose fiery grassroots campaign once had him leading the pack of Democratic presidential contenders, formally withdrew from the race after another poor showing. Massachusetts Senator John Kerry remained the odds-on favourite, but only narrowly won Wisconsin over North Carolina Senator John Edwards—who warned him "objects in your rear view mirror are closer than you think."

PROTESTS Young Australian Aborigines fought a pitched nine-hour battle with police in a notoriously sensitive native ghetto in Sydney. The spark on this occasion was the death of a 17-year-old boy who had become impaled on a steel fence after, some said, being chased by police.

In a more unusual confrontation, prisoners in Ecuador held 360 visitors hostage to protest against overcrowding, long sentences and poor sanitary conditions. Most of those being held were women and children who had gone to the jail voluntarily to demonstrate on behalf of the prisoners.

IRAQ After weeks of discussion, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said it was unfeasible to hold early elections in Iraq, as Shia leaders had demanded, before the June 30 deadline in which the U.S. is to hand over power to an interim authority. U.S. administrator Paul Bremer, meanwhile, said he is open to changing the way the proposed caretaker government will be selected.

BUSINESS Can you hear us now? Cingular Wireless plans to pay US$41 billion to buy AT&T Wireless and create the largest cell-phone operator in the U.S.



The Walt Disney empire, fending off a takeover bid itself, will buy Kermit, Miss Piggy and the other Muppets, capping a 14-year courtship.

Partners of jailed Russian billionaire Mikhail Khodorkovsky offered the Putin government what has been called a US$14-billion ransom—their 44-per-cent stake in giant Yukos oil company.

HEALTH | SCIENCE

ANTIBIOTICS Women who have ingested 25 or more prescriptions of antibiotics over a 17-year period run twice the risk of developing breast cancer than those who didn't take the medication, researchers in Seattle said. It is not clear whether antibiotics them-

RUNAWAY INFERNO

Fifty-one freight cars, carrying a deadly concoction of gasoline, fertilizers and industrial chemicals, were somehow set loose to rumble along 20 km of track in northern Iran before derailing. Hours later, 320 people, mostly firefighters and curious villagers, were killed when the potent mix exploded with a force equal to 3.0 on the Richter scale.



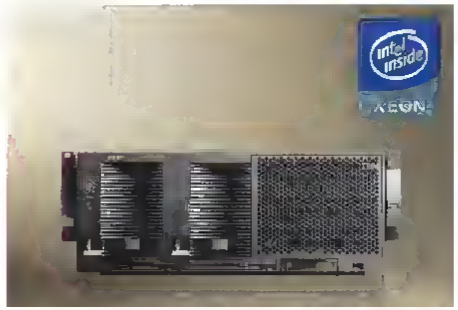
HASAN SARBAKHSHIAN/AP; JIM HENSON PRODUCTIONS/AP

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selves trigger the disease or if their use simply reflects underlying problems

SILICON CELLS International researchers, including a neurobiologist from the University of Calgary, have discovered a way for cells in a snail's brain to communicate with a microchip, a breakthrough that may someday allow for a host of remedies involving an electronic device in the brain

STAR BRIGHT U S astronomers catalogued the biggest known chunk of celestial glitter—the crystallized diamond-faceted core of a burned-out star that is an estimated 4,000 km in diameter

CANADA

BIRD FLU A mild form of avian flu, the same strain as that found in at least three states in the eastern U S , has turned up at a chicken farm in B C Officials say it is not nearly as virulent as the strain that has ravaged poultry farms in Southeast Asia, but it has led to a ban on Canadian poultry in Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea

FOREIGN AFFAIRS Canada has quietly joined a U S led scheme to intercept ships on the high seas suspected of carrying missiles or unauthorized nuclear materials—a plan aimed primarily at vessels from North Korea. Ottawa will also participate in U S missile defence trials this summer to test Canadian radar technology But Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham said Canada is still strongly against putting missiles in space



SNOW BOMB A classic nor'easter, which meteorologists called a weather bomb, clobbered the Maritimes with record snowfalls and hurling winds. Power was out in several areas, and Nova Scotia and P.E.I. declared states of emergency to force people to stay off roads. Halifax's 90 cm of snow was almost double the one-day record set in 1944.

KAZEMI A BBC investigation reported that Canadian photojournalist Zahra Kazemi, beaten to death last June while in the custody of Iranian security officials, was taken to hospital with her injuries but was prevented from receiving doctor-recommended medical treatment

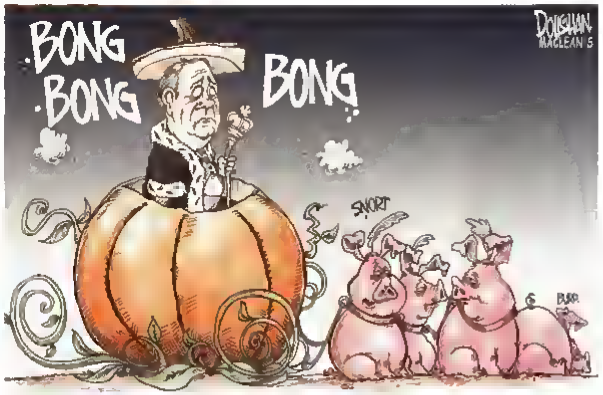
AFGHANISTAN A 43-year old Canadian soldier shot himself in the face while alone in his tent in Kabul Authorities are investigating whether it was an attempted suicide or a gun-cleaning accident.

POLITICS Ottawa scrapped a planned second state visit to northern Europe by Gov Gen. Adrienne Clarkson after last year's trip to Russia, Finland and Iceland came in with a $5 3-million price tag

New Brunswick's auditor general accused Premier Bernard Lord of misleading the public by claiming a $1-million surplus last fall when the province was actually $109 million in the red. Lord dismissed the charge as a dispute over accounting semantics.

WOLVES The last of the 30 Canadian grey wolves transplanted to Yellowstone National Park in the mid 1990s was destroyed by wildlife officials after she became injured and started attacking cattle Her sister was killed earlier in February by a rival pack Authorities, however, say there are now at least 600 wolves in the park area, enough to remove them from the endangered list

BY TIM DOLIGHAN



PAUL DARROW/REUTERS

Mansbridge in Afghanistan



THE VIEW FROM KABUL

There have been changes—but sometimes it's hard to notice them

IT SNOWED in Kabul a few days ago—about 10 cm in low lying areas, and a lot more on the surrounding mountainsides At first glance it was a spectacular scene, as good or better than any host Winter Olympic city I've visited But first glances, like first impressions, can be deceiving The more important snow fact may have been that while it didn't last long in the city, it was extremely useful to some They carted it off to melt down into the only fresh water they'd seen in a long time.

When the U S.-led coalition—Canada included—"liberated" Afghanistan in the months after Sept 11, George W. Bush said rebuilding the country was priority number 1, that no expense would be spared, that the price of failure was too high. In the two years since, billions have been spent, and lives have been lost, but there's still such a long way to go to help this country get back on its feet The question, then, is will the helpers go the extra distance?

Some things have changed for the better, but it's hard to notice them. Warlords and drug lords run much of the country; security remains a frightening issue for all, bad water and poor sewers are a constant source of health problems; roads and bridges are in total disrepair or close to it In short, the country is a mess and the old forces of the Taliban and al-Qaeda are reappearing. Some of those demanding more help from the West are conflicted they'd prefer it didn't come from foreign troops, but they still want the money to fix things and someone to show them how to do the job

On my way into Afghanistan, I came through Dubai and met two Americans at the airport. They both had the "military" look—which is what we used to call soldiers of fortune One had been with the U S army in the fight against the Taliban, the other with the Marines in the fight against Saddam Hussein Both were now out of the service One told me how he'd put his resume on an Internet job board and within 24 hours had three offers—two for Afghanistan, one for Saudi Arabia. Now they're off to train Afghan police in outlying areas—hazardous and inhospitable surroundings for foreigners, especially Americans But, as they said, it's well worth the money they'll make I asked who was paying. "Who do you think?" came the reply "Washington."

Then there's the situation for Afghanistan's women Promised equal rights in the much heralded new constitution, they continue to face a different reality In many areas, burkas still appear to dominate as dress for women outside the home And while they now have the right to drive, finding one who does take the wheel is hard. In fact, finding one allowed to sit in the front seat is a challenge I saw one car in Kabul that had three men in the front, four boys in the back, and two women wearing burkas crammed into the hatchback storage area. Equal rights?

Remember that first impressions thing? It's often wrong to make them, but hard not to sometimes Few people would argue that a significant improvement in life may, at best, be a generation away But time is a problem: Bush, before he chose to switch focus to Baghdad, indicated success here would define how the West was received in this part of the world for decades A lot of people, many of them Canadian, are trying very hard to make that happen. But they need more help, and fast And it'll take more than a few good old boys from the U.S. trying to make some fast bucks to achieve that. M



Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Anchor of *The National*
To comment letters@macleans.ca

Passages

WON Canadian photographer **Paul Nicklen** took the gold medal in the nature category at the prestigious World Press Photo awards, while transplanted Aussie **Sandy Nicholson**, who lives in Toronto and is a regular contributor to *Maclean's*, earned a bronze citation for his study of suburban fetishists.

DIED **Tony Bethell**, a British fighter pilot, was part of the mass breakout from a German POW camp in 1944 known as the Great Escape. Recaptured, he was one of the few not executed. He settled in Canada in 1955 and died at his Caledon, Ont , home at 81.

MOVING ON Elsie Wayne, the outspoken grandmother who became the conscience of the Conservative party, is calling an end to her political career The 71 year old former mayor of Saint John, N B , entered Parliament in 1993, one of only two Tories to win in that election



REJECTED **Grant Devine**, 59, the scandal-plagued former premier of Saskatchewan, was trying to make a comeback with the new federal Conservative party but was turned down by its nominations committee

APPOINTED Justice **Louise Arbour**, the 57-year-old former war crimes prosecutor, quit the Supreme Court of Canada to be the new UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. She replaces Brazilian **Sergio Vieira de Mello**, who was killed in a bomb attack on the UN headquarters in Baghdad

WON **Guy Vanderhaeghe**'s historical epic *The Last Crossing* was this year's winner in the CBC's Canada Reads contest. His champion was rock star **Jim Cuddy** of Blue Rodeo

DIED **Angela Vecchio-Ozmon**, the Nova Scotia woman whose inspirational fight against breast cancer was chronicled on national television for two years, died at 39

DIED **Jose Lopez Portillo** was president of Mexico from 1976 to 1982 during an economic slump and allegations of widespread corruption He died of pneumonia at 83

JONATHAN HAYWARD/CP (TOP); COURTESY OF CBC

GUT-CHECK TIME

The PM has been on the offensive throughout the scandal. Maybe he really means to call an election.

IT ALL COMES DOWN TO THIS: winning more than half of the 308 House of Commons seats that will be up for grabs in the next election. Under Prime Minister Paul Martin, most Liberals thought their next majority was in the bag, as poll after poll confirmed that only the magnitude of the landslide was in doubt. But that was before "scandal" and "corruption" became the most repeated words on Parliament Hill—quickly turning those numbers not just sour, but downright toxic. According to an analysis done for *Maclean's* by the Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy, at Wilfrid Laurier University, polls conducted just after the sponsorship affair exploded translate into only 149 seats for the Liberals. That would be a humbling minority, far below the 172-seat majority they won in the 2000 election, and a pale shadow of the 213 MPs the party was on track to bring to Parliament based on voter preference surveys done before the auditor general ignited the controversy with her Feb. 10 report.

To many outside observers, the Liberals' crash in the polls turned a spring election from a near certainty into a long shot. "It would be the ultimate gamble," warned Darrell Bricker, president of Ipsos Reid, the polling firm that pegged Liberal support at 35 per cent after the scandal, compared to 48 per cent before it. Yet among the government MPs who would be putting their jobs on the line, sentiment has not swung decisively against a possible May election date. "Canadians ought to be able to express their opinion about a new leader and a new direction in government, and we should let them do it as early as possible," said Andy Savoy, the New Brunswick MP who, as chairman of the Liberal caucus, acts as a key conduit of backbench opinion to the Prime Minister. "That's my instinct," Savoy added, "but it's not my call." The man whose call it is, Martin, isn't saying—though he has certainly been looking like a politician in campaign mode.

Radio talk shows, both national and local. Television interviews. Appearances in key regions and ridings. And, despite all the roaming around, a dominant role in Question Period. It was a far more in your face Martin than Canadians are used to seeing. The danger was that he might spend too much of his precious political capital—all the triple-A rated credibility that accrued to him as Jean Chrétien's deficit-busting finance minister—in a no-win damage control exercise. The upside was that by the sheer quantity of personal exposure, Martin might succeed in putting across the message that he had nothing to hide. Whether many voters were in a mood to see it that way remains to be seen. Inside Liberal ranks, though, some who were not counted as Martin fans appeared to be won over by his willingness to personally bear the brunt of public outrage. "He's inspired me," said Toronto MP Sarmite Bulte, one of the few MPs who staunchly supported Sheila Copps against Martin in last year's leadership race. "He gives me courage."

AFTER all the boondoggles, perhaps it's cumulative fiasco-fatigue that has caused Liberal support to plummet

Still, Bulte admitted not everybody finds his road show so inspiring. "The fact is, we have a new prime minister who is willing to put his integrity on the line, and yet it doesn't seem to be working," she said. "I just don't understand why this new style of governing is being met with such derision." One reason may be that the gutsy performance Martin is putting on is bound to be overshadowed—at least for a while—by the dispiriting facts of the case. Auditor general Sheila Fraser looked into $250 million spent on federal government sponsorships between 1997 and 2003, mostly in Quebec, and found that over $100 million was paid in fees and commissions to Liberal-friendly advertising and communications firms, often for little or nothing, and with dubious paperwork.

As disturbing as this affair is on its own, Bricker says the damage is compounded when many Canadians lump it in with past Liberal scandals and boondoggles—from the gun registry gone hundreds of millions over budget, to the mismanagement of jobs grants at the former human resources department. Perhaps it's that cumulative fiasco-fatigue that caused polled Liberal support to drop faster than Canadian public opinion experts say they've ever seen outside the period of an election campaign, when political preferences tend to be more in flux.

The trick for Martin is to make his response in this case so aggressive that voters will believe the pattern has been broken. In fact, he has set so many investigations, inquiries and probes in motion that keeping track of them all is a challenge. There are now no less than four major lines of attack:

- A public inquiry headed by John Gomery,



Williams (left) is chairing the House public accounts committee hearings looking into the troubling questions raised by Fraser's report

TOM HANSON/CP

a Quebec judge who will have all the time he wants to look into every aspect of the scandal, is expected to commence within the next few weeks. Interim reports from Gomery are a possibility, which means some early findings could be made public before or even during a spring campaign, though his final report is likely to take much longer to complete.

■ Hearings by the House public accounts committee, chaired by Conservative MP John Williams, have already begun. The MPs' ability to peer into any links between the scandal and the upper echelons of the Chrétien government got an unexpected boost last week, when Chrétien agreed to a request from Martin's office to have cabinet documents dealing with the sponsorships unsealed for the committee—records that would normally have been kept secret for decades.

■ Montreal lawyer André Gauthier has been hired as "special counsel" to try to recover money improperly paid out under the sponsorship scheme. He is expected to sort out where sponsorship funds flowed inside the often complicated financial structures of advertising and communications firms that collected millions—the sort of follow-the-money details the House committee and Gomery's inquiry might lack the expertise to uncover.



Martin is leaving his options wide open, even if many see him as backed into a corner

■ Police are investigating possible criminal wrongdoing related to the sponsorship program. Last September, the RCMP charged Paul Coffin, chairman of Montreal-based Communication Coffin, with 18 counts of fraud related to about $2 million paid under the sponsorship program. Coffin pleaded not guilty. "I think it's reasonable to assume," said Public Works Minister Stephen Owen last week, "that given the information that's being passed to the RCMP and the Quebec police, there will be more charges coming."

The prospects for a spring election depend largely on what these four processes produce over just the next few weeks. More charges that show the guilty are being caught, new revelations that put distance between Martin's team and the scandal's bad odour, even token amounts of taxpayers' money recovered—any of these developments would make an early election call all the more probable. Certainly, Martin has left the possibility squarely on the table, saying in a New Westminster, B.C., radio interview on Feb. 19 that he wouldn't wait until Gomery finished his work—only long enough that "people are pretty sure of the direction the inquiry is taking."

So he's leaving his options wide open—even if many see him as backed into a corner. Bricker says deciding to go this spring, so soon after taking a public-opinion pummelling, would be the mark of a politician who trusts his gut more than he frets about the numbers. "It would defy conventional wisdom," he said. Still, Ontario's Mike Harris called a provincial election in 1999 even though he was trailing in the polls—and kept his majority. Chrétien rolled the dice the next year, despite warnings that voters would punish him for calling them to the polls well before his traditional four-year mandate was up—and he won big, too. "Is Martin really that kind of guy?" Bricker asked skeptically. Political gambler sure wasn't the way Canadians saw him during the long years when he personified fiscal prudence. But then this scandal has already showed a new side of Martin, a willingness—almost an eagerness—to wade into adversity up to his neck. Maybe he's got more of the same in store. M

A LIBERAL MINORITY IN THE MAKING?

According to the latest polls, here's how the parties would fare

	Seats won in 2000	What pre-scandal polls showed they'd win	What post-scandal polls show
Liberals	172	213	149
Conservatives	78*	47	85
NDP	13	15	21
Bloc	38	33	53

Based on the Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy's regional swing model. Pre-scandal polls include Compas and Léger & Léger results from January. Post-scandal polls blend two Ipsos-Reid polls conducted after the release of the auditor general's report on the federal sponsorship program.

*Progressive Conservative and Canadian Alliance combined

MEASURING SCANDAL IN DOLLARS AND CENTS



The auditor general's damning report said that more than $100 million in government funds had been misspent in the sponsorship scandal. But what's $100 million? It's...

- the cost of 615 average Canadian houses
- the amount the median Canadian family would earn after 1,818 years of income
- 12.7 years' worth of compensation for Toronto-Dominion Bank CEO Ed Clark
- the approximate total value of Conrad Black's homes in London, Palm Beach, New York City and Toronto
- the cost of a movie and soda for every Quebecer (popcorn extra)

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Maclean's*, Toronto-Dominion Bank

WHY QUEBECERS FEEL ESPECIALLY BETRAYED

One of the biggest hits on Canadian television this winter is also a secret for the majority of Canadian viewers. *Les Bougon*, a 30-minute sitcom about a dysfunctional household of politically incorrect welfare cheats in Montreal, attracts 2.2 million francophone viewers to Radio-Canada each Wednesday night. Those who tune in want to find out what these resourceful bums, whose only principle is refusing to do honest work, will think of next to beat the System by swindling, cheating, robbing, deceiving and fast-talking. The Bougons are rough, truculent, beer-soaked urban trash. In their commitment to not working, though, they come out as likeable, funny anarchists.

But as the op-ed page editor for *La Presse* found out last week, what is deemed cute for the Bougons doesn't go down as well for a clique of well-connected executives who also bilk the System, lining their pockets while pretending to save Canada from the separatist peril. Pierre-Paul Gagne wrote that he was struck by the scope and depth of the outrage in the hundreds of letters to his newspaper triggered by the sponsorship scandal. "The real Bougons are clean-shaven, live in mansions, and move around in limousines," one reader wrote. Another: "The real Bougons are with the Liberal party, and what's worse is that we've elected them." Not to be outdone, the tabloid *Journal de Montréal* ran a series last week on the "real Bougons," a mish-mash of recent corporate scandals along with an analysis of tax evasion by "Bougons in suits who know how to bend rules, legally."

Bougon, in French, means grumpy, and grumpy is the mood in Quebec nowadays.

Quebec voters are touchy about allegations in the rest of Canada that blatant corruption is a way of life here. Because it once was. In the 1950s, voting was directly influenced by goons wielding dollar bills and crowbars. Special interests, such as suburban paving contractors, had a lot of political clout in the sixties. Quebec did something about it. The most enduring legacy of the first Parti Québécois government was a law enforcing better democratic mores by putting a cap on private and corporate donations to political parties, and by making the information public. It's governed Quebec's political life for a quarter-century now but was never copied in Ottawa—and voters think they now understand why.

All Canadians were outraged by this scandal, but there is an extra reason for Quebecers to feel betrayed. Quebec is the only part of Canada that entertains two legitimate but opposing views of the country's future—other Canadians are pretty much on the same side of that debate. Quebecers have learned to live with their divisions. But learning that fighting one of these two visions was used as an excuse to line the pockets of apparatchiks—after they had won the last referendum, in 1995—just added insult to injury.



People like the Bougons, but not well-connected execs who also bilk the system

Two things are known to rev up the separatist engine: one is perceived arrogance in Ottawa, and the other a sentiment of lingering hostility against Quebec in the rest of Canada. This scandal has both, and the immediate effect was to boost the sagging fortunes of the Bloc Québécois and to bring the PQ back from its post-election doldrums.

Note that Quebecers are not as thin-skinned as they were, say, a decade ago. Nasty taunts by Don Cherry and Conan O'Brien in the last weeks were taken with a shrug here—reaction was mostly confined to professional obfuscators in the media and Parliament. But this scandal is something else. Many separatists turned their backs on the PQ after Jacques Parizeau blamed his narrow defeat in the referendum of 1995 on "money and the ethnic vote." Finding a corrupt sponsorship program aimed at them was not what these new, tentative federalists expected.

Some will take a long time to get over it.

BENOIT AUBIN

JACQUES BOISSINOT/CP

TOM HANSON/CP; COURTESY OF RADIO-CANADA

THAT DÉJÀ VU FEELING

For a Canadian, this country is like a funhouse-mirror image

IT IS A wonderful gift to walk through Sydney in February, the height of summer in one of the world's most beautiful cities—and to have David Malouf as a tour guide. And it is a constant surprise, in a city so optimistically engaged with the present moment, that history weighs so heavily.

Malouf is one of Australia's most eminent writers, a poet and novelist who has also become a sort of part-time explainer of the Australian soul, both to his countrymen and to the world. In March he will return to Toronto, a city he knows well, to deliver the fifth LaFontaine-Baldwin Symposium, an annual lecture about Canadian culture, history and ideas. The first four LaFontaine-Baldwin talks were delivered by eminent Canadians. Malouf will be the first foreigner. He will speak of Canada from the peculiar perspective of this funhouse-mirror country on the other side of the globe.

"I think Canada is a place where you can re-experience Australia again," he told me. "I feel that more strongly in Canada than I would in the United States. Because the United States is too big and too different and so much of its energy comes from sheer numbers of people—which is not true of us, and it's not true of Canada. But there are things in Canada that you can look up and say, 'Oh, I see you have that too, maybe that's where that comes from.' So it is a place where you go, not to experience something extraordinarily foreign—which I think is what we always look for in the United States—it's to experience something of your own place in other terms."

I knew what he meant because, during a week in Sydney, I kept experiencing something of my own country in other terms.



One of Australia's most eminent writers, Malouf will soon be delivering the fifth LaFontaine-Baldwin Symposium in Canada

One morning Malouf and I were walking through Hyde Park, a grand French-style garden lined with immense trees you would find nowhere in France. Malouf looked up distractedly and stopped in his tracks.

"Oh," he said. "This is a sacred place."

This turned out to be the Anzac Memorial, Sydney's monument to Australia's war dead. It is considerably larger than the equivalent memorial in Ottawa. We walked inside, read the names of foreign battlefields carved into marble walls, beginning with the Turkish beach where a doomed battle in 1915 marked the end of Australia's innocence: Gallipoli. Signs warned visitors to be silent and repeated: "This is a sacred place."

It was one of the moments that strikes a Canadian visitor a dozen times a day in Australia, the experience of seeing something at once familiar and alien. Why the solemnity? Why the sheer *scale* of this act of remembrance?

Partly it's because the scale of Australia's loss was greater: 62,000 dead in the First World War to Canada's 67,000, but Australia's population then was half of ours, so the loss was twice as great. But mostly, Malouf explained, it's because the psychic scar of the Great War and its aftermath was unique.



Australians went to war for adventure, but in 1915 Gallipoli marked the end of the country's innocence

The most striking thing about Australia is that it's an island halfway around the world from the culture that founded it. It is, at least compared to Canada with its great rivers, almost unnavigable internally. So you needed boats to get to it, boats to get away, and for the longest time, you needed boats to get around the coast too.

This imperative to *get out* makes the Australians a nation of extroverts. They spend years backpacking through Europe. They seem to pay more attention to international news than most of us do—one of the basic channels on Australian television, SBS, broadcasts a bewildering variety of newscasts from countries all over the globe, all day long. "I've often said Australians take an interest in the world because we're afraid the world might forget we're here," Malouf said.

The flip side of that extroversion is a sense of Australia's isolation and fragility. Beginning in 1915, the naive young nation was dealt a succession of shattering reminders of that fragility. "There was something, in the way Australians went to war, of a spirit of adventure," Malouf said. "Rather innocent in that kind of way. I think they had no idea what war was going to be, or how long they were going to be there, or what conditions would be like. And it was horrible."

In some ways it didn't get better after the war was over. In 1919, the leaders of Britain, France, the United States and other great powers convened in the best hotels of Paris to carve up the post-war world. The Australian delegation had high hopes. "Australia felt we had made a huge contribution at a huge cost," Malouf said. "We'd made that contribution to empire and to Europe and we felt we ought to be rewarded."

The hopes were not only dashed, they were subverted: the great-powers swells handed most of Germany's Pacific possessions to Japan, not to Australia—thus giving a potential invader a staging area thousands of miles closer to the Australian beaches.

And in 1942, the invader struck. The Japanese overwhelmed Singapore, taking 15,000 Australian prisoners. Timor fell. Darwin was bombed, killing about 250 Australians. One night in May, three Japanese midget submarines stole into Sydney harbour and sank an Australian navy barracks

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN OXENBURY

CORBIS/MAGMA



ship, killing 21 sailors. Bob Carr, the premier of the state of New South Wales, took me to his office window and pointed out into Sydney harbour. Even 62 years later, the first thing he showed me was the route the subs had travelled.

Winston Churchill told the Australian government Britain could not divert troops to defend Australia. Again, the nation was confronted with its terrible isolation. "For years we'd been convinced by the British that we didn't have to have strong forces or a strong navy because they would always protect us," Malouf said. "And in the end they couldn't. So we had to turn to the Americans."

The battle for Australia was, in some ways, a continuation of the same Japanese offensive that sunk the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor. Franklin Roosevelt answered Australia's appeal. By war's end, a total of one million American troops had been stationed in or had passed through Australia.

To be in Sydney in summer with Malouf as a tour guide is a wonderful gift

It is another striking historical moment that separates Australians from their Canadian cousins: the lived experience of having relied on the United States, not only for a security blanket that is so constant we might take it for granted, but for protection against an imminent threat from a deadly invader.

All of which makes Malouf—and Australian intellectuals in general—a lot less suspicious of Americans than Canadians are. He offered a game defence of Australia's decision to join the Americans and Brits in defeating Saddam Hussein last year. It's another expression of Australia's long standing policy of meeting threats overseas before the threat has a chance to reach Australia's shore.

Near the end of one of our interviews, I asked him whether there was anything that bugged him about Canadians. He looked politely pained, then attempted a diplomatic answer. "Look. One of the things that always happens is, if you meet somebody who's speaking with a North American accent,

BRENNAN LINSLEY/AP



Rose Adams
Georgian College, 1984
Barrister/Solicitor/Mediator
Self-employed
Category: Business



Susan Taylor Schmaltz
Algonquin College, 1980
Missionary in early childhood education
The Dreamer Center, Antigua, Guatemala
Category: Community Services



Beverly D. Thomson
Seneca College, 1987
Co-Host, Canada AM - CTV
Category: Creative Arts & Design



Dr. Heather Lee Kilty
Niagara College, 1969
Assistant Professor, Brock University
Category: Health Sciences



Suzanne Marie Demars
Sheridan College, 2002
Founder/President - Not My Child (non-profit organization)
Category: Recent Graduate



Donald Jan Dekker
Northern College, 1971
Project and Maintenance Supervisor
Trans Cycle Industries
Category: Technology

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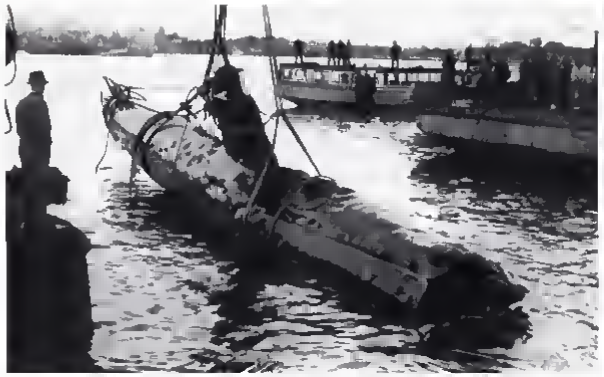
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ROGERS



One of the midget Japanese submarines that managed to attack Sydney harbour in 1942

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD/AP

basically the rule is, you say, 'Are you a Canadian?' Because if you say, 'Are you an American?' and they turn out to be Canadian, they'll be very upset and you'll be off to a bad start. If you say, 'Are you a Canadian?' Americans, on the whole, don't take offence."

He paused, then added: "I kind of wish you didn't always have to deal with Canadians by making it quite clear that you understand they're not Americans."

So these are some of the themes Malouf will discuss in Toronto: isolation, both from the American behemoth and from much else. The interplay of carefree innocence and vulnerability that defines so much of Australian life.

The sense of vulnerability is obvious as soon as a visitor lands on Australian territory. Passengers on my Air Canada flight were told airport staff would board our plane and *fumigate it*, although in the end nobody did. At the luggage carousels, a uniformed woman led a cute beagle around so the dog could sniff carry-on luggage for possible contaminants. "In any month, a detector dog team could be expected to intercept about 33 kg of fresh fruit and 9 kg of meat," a notice on the Web site of Australia's Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry explains cheerfully, "as well as plant material and eggs."

The beagle wore a little doggie jacket emblazoned with the slogan, "PROTECTING AUSTRALIA." We're a long way from Roosevelt's armies. Perhaps you laugh. But fruit and meat in a student's backpack could be infested with diseases as alien to Australia's environment as a kangaroo would be to Winnipeg. Introduced animals—foxes, pigs and other European species growing wild in the Australian bush—have devastated the continent's populations of unique plants and animals.

And within years of the First Fleet—11 ships carrying, for the most part, exiled convicts—landing in the Sydney area in 1788, the Northern Hemisphere's alien smallpox virus had killed hundreds of thousands of Aborigines.

There's another thread that binds our two countries, not an honourable one: our treatment of indigenous populations. In both nations it is a sorry history leavened only recently and partially by attempts at reconciliation and comprehension. For Malouf that reconciliation is part of a broader story: the descendants of Australian settlers finally reconciling with their adopted land in all of its richness. "It took us a very, very long time to understand that what we were making here was not a perfect mirror of Britain," he said. "And what we hadn't seen, of course, was that all the ways we were getting it wrong and making a bad imitation, a crude imitation, was where our real originality lay."

Much of the evolution from an insular, nostalgic Australia to this gorgeous and gregarious modern country has taken place in Malouf's lifetime. "When I went to grammar school in Brisbane, in February, the hottest month, we sat in flannel suits wearing ties—that's what we would have done as good public-school boys in England," he said. "What did make a big difference was when we stopped pretending, and looked around and said, 'My God, but it's hot!'" M

HAVE YOUR SAY

At *Maclean's* and macleans.ca, we want to get to know you and what you think. That's why we created the Advisory Panel. By responding to our occasional online questionnaires, members can help shape the future of both the magazine and the Web site.

JOIN OUR ADVISORY PANEL
www.macleans.ca/webpanel

MACLEAN'S

ROGERS

TEEN TROUBLE

Most young people turn out just fine, but adolescence can be a bumpy ride for all. Our four experts give parents a road map.

PIMPLES, CURFEWS, NASTY CLIQUES Nagging parents, boring teachers, clueless adults. The thing about becoming one of those clueless adults is that you have to pass through the teen years to get there. So why is it such a challenge when our kids enter teen-hood? Well, perhaps because most of us can't recall exactly what it was like to take those perfectly natural, necessary steps toward independence. We remember being confused, at times overwhelmed, but not the toll it took on everyone else. As parenting guru Barbara Coloroso says of the teens, "My God, it's a hard time for all of us."

The statistics give some idea of just how hard. According to a 2002 Health Canada study, by age 14, one in four kids has had sexual intercourse and, by 16, one in two. A third of 12- to 19-year olds surveyed by Health Canada last fall said they'd used marijuana on more than one occasion (up from 13 per cent in 1993), and one in five teens drinks alcohol regularly. But while 80 per cent say tobacco is harmful to your health, only 38 per cent believe the same of pot, and 13 of alcohol.

So much for sex and drugs. What about rock 'n' roll? Teens have always been rapacious consumers of media, and today, the nearly six hours a day the average teen spends in front of video, TV and computer screens may be cause for concern. That's especially so at a time when, according to Statistics Canada, 23 per cent of 12- to 19 year-old boys and 13 per cent of girls in that age range are overweight. Yet, as Canadian Paediatric Society president Dr. Diane Sacks reminds us, "drugs, alcohol, sex, hanging with the wrong group are not the problems. These are the kids' solutions to a problem." That is, kids will "mask" emotional difficulties with risk-taking or with self-destructive behaviour such as eating disorders—in the Statistics Canada study, about half the girls in the normal weight range believed they were overweight. Up to 10 per cent of Canada's 3.7 million teens suffer from depression and anxiety but most, adds Sacks, go untreated.

Sacks and Coloroso are two of four parenting gurus—the others are writer Paul Kropp and psychologist Scott Wooding—whom *Maclean's* approached for advice on eight common teen/parenting issues. They were interviewed by Brian Bergman, Sue Ferguson and Karin Marley. We also include the voices of five Canadian teens, most of whom acknowledge that they feel, or have felt, compelled to break the rules. However, they also ask that adults grant them a measure of freedom. "Some parents can be way too stressed," says Michelle Puska, 15, a Grade 10 student in Maple Ridge, B.C., just east of Vancouver. Michelle, who plays in an all girl punk band called the Name That Can't Be Said, notes that she and her folks have a "really good" relationship. "You have to have some trust there," she says, "It's pretty normal to rebel, because not all kids are going to get along with their parents all the time." And we'd be remiss if we didn't also point out that dwelling on the negative distorts a happy reality: the vast majority of teens (and parents) make it through these years intact. As Vancouver's Connie Guo, 17, puts it: "Contrary to what everyone says, we do grow up."

'I don't,' says Connie, 'think every little rebellion needs to be addressed'



PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HOWELL

OUR EXPERT PANEL

Barbara Coloroso, a former nun and special education teacher, has written four parenting books. *Kids Are Worth It!* (Penguin, 1994) remains a best seller in Canada. She lives in Littleton, Colo., where her three kids played on the Columbine High lacrosse team (they attended a different school) in 1999, the year two boys killed 12 classmates and a teacher before shooting themselves. Coloroso reflects on that tragedy in her most recent book, *The Bully, the Bullied, and the Bystander* (HarperCollins, 2002).

Paul Kropp has written a wide range of books for young readers. His three titles for adults include *I'll be the Parent, You be the Kid* (Random House, 1998) which takes on such shibboleths of liberal child rearing as the need to boost self-esteem and the perils of spanking. A father of three biological kids and three stepchildren, aged 19 to 34, he lives in Regina.

Dr. Diane Sacks, a pediatrician for more than 30 years, specializes in adolescent medicine. In the 1990s she was director of the teen clinic at North York General Hospital. Today, the mother of three grown children divides her time between her practice, guest lecturing on teen-parenting issues and the Canadian Paediatric Society, of which she is currently president.

Scott Wooding is a psychologist who specializes in parenting problems and stress management. A father of two grown children living in Okotoks, Alta., 20 km south of Calgary, he has worked as a school psychologist, counsellor and teacher. Wooding's new book, *Rage, Rebellion & Rudeness: Parenting Teenagers in the New Millennium* (Fitzhenry & Whiteside), is reviewed on page 33.

WHAT TO DO IF...

SPEAKING OUT | Invidious comparisons

VANCOUVERITE CONNIE GUO, 17, is an A student in Grade 12. She's an only child who lives with her mother, desktop publisher Alice Lian, 41. Her father, Benjamin Guo, 44, travels frequently to Ottawa where he works for the Canada Customs and Revenue Agency. Born in Nanjing, China, Connie moved to Canada with her parents when she was six. She once considered a career as an artist, but her parents urged her to aspire to something more "practical." Connie now plans to study commerce and then go into law, which she hopes will feed her interest in international issues.

"I'm trying to find a middle between what I want to do and what my parents want me to do. We used to fight a lot when I was younger, going through my rebellious early teens. Thirteen is the most horrible age ever. You try to fit in and you try to act like somebody else. You look back now and you think how stupid you were. I think parents should kind of let it go. I don't think every little rebellion needs to be addressed. We do learn. Contrary to what everyone says, we do grow up. We do realize what we did before may have been stupid and wrong, but I think it's better when you come to the realization yourself.

"I don't know if you've noticed but in a lot of Asian families, the kids have to do well in school. There's always an instrument [they play], there's always an amazing high grade average, there's always numerous tutors. I'm against tutors. In grades eight, nine and 10 even I had a lot of arguments with my mom about that. I would hate it when her friends' kids were so perfect and she would talk about it. I don't think any parent has the right to compare their child with another. That would be my advice to parents: don't compare your kids. We hate it. Oh my God we hate it. We hate it above everything else.

"I think we came to an understanding, that I'm myself, I'm not going to change, I'm not going to bend. I think my mom respects me and she's really proud of me now, of who I am individually." KEN MACQUEEN

> "Teenagers—especially young adolescents—firmly believe in the four I's: they're infallible, invulnerable, invincible and infertile"
> —SACKS

15%

of teens have had sexual intercourse by age 14
—HEALTH CANADA

...YOU THINK YOUR TEEN IS HAVING SEX

Kropp: You can't stop kids from having sex. If it's your 11-year-old, then it's time to turn to professional help. But kids have been having sex at 14 and 15 since the days of Romeo and Juliet. If it's your daughter, take her to a doctor. If it's your son, make sure there are condoms available in the house. Even if they're not having sex, condoms should be available. Kids are too poor to buy them for themselves, and it certainly takes a bit of mystique off if dad's providing the condoms. That doesn't necessarily mean encouraging sex.

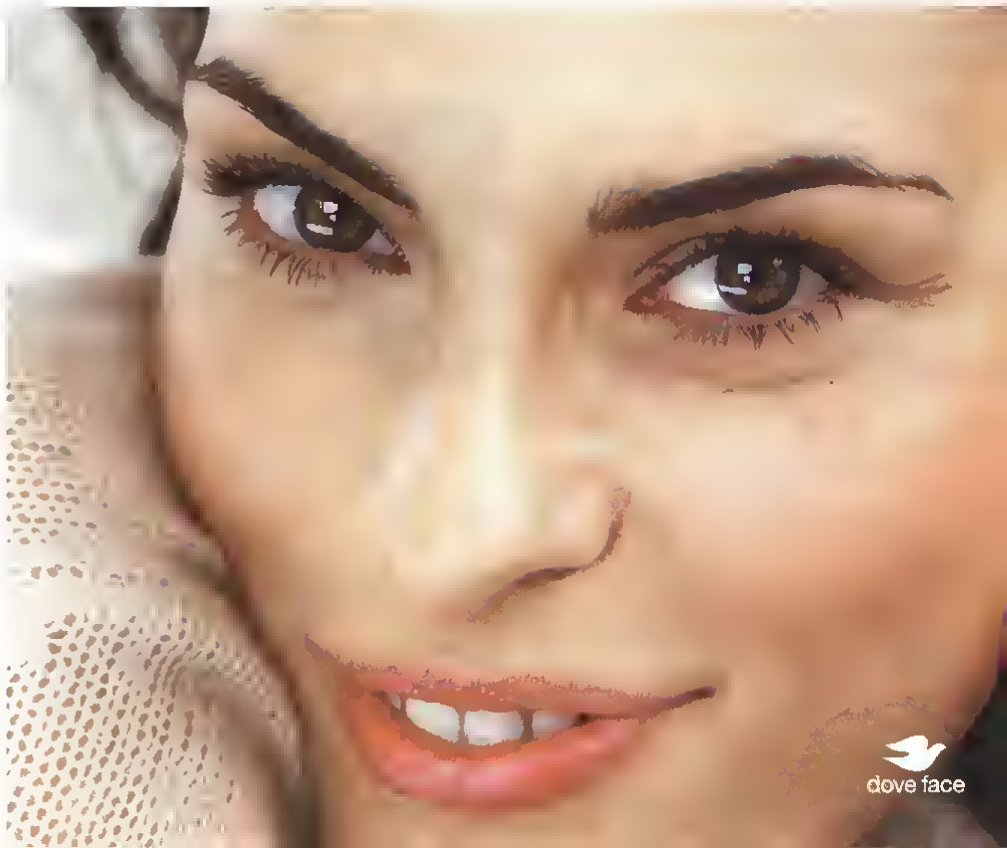
Sacks: Teenagers—especially young adolescents—firmly believe in the four I's: they're infallible, invulnerable, invincible and infertile. As for sex, it depends on the child's age. If they're under 14, my concern is that there's some history of abuse, because it's not medically or developmentally appropriate.

Never talk to your child when you're in panic mode. Make them understand you're trying to change their thinking, because it's *their* behaviour. Create some doubt in their minds that what they're doing isn't healthy or in their best interest. Make them list the pros and cons. What's good about having sex? "Well, John and I love each other, it feels good." What's bad? "Well, I might get a sexually transmitted disease, I might get pregnant, John and I might break up and he might tell everybody." In the end, the most parents can do is say, "I'm very unhappy with that decision," and—this is important—"I hope you change that decision." Having sex is a very adult behaviour, so the kids have to take responsibility. They have to go to a health care professional to get good health information and find out the medical risks. Boys should participate in paying for the pill or condoms.

Wooding: It's critical that parents talk to kids about sex from the time they are seven, eight, nine. Use teachable moments, such as when you see kids on TV making out. Ask them what they think. If they are having sex, you have to talk to them. One thing you can't do is get angry, start lecturing. Instead, elicit their thoughts. "Why are you having sex? Are you taking the proper precautions? Do you realize some of the emotional overtones?" One thing neither schools nor parents ever talk about is the emotional fallout. There's always a strong case for encouraging abstinence, especially from the emotional side of things.



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...IF YOUR TEEN HAS AN UNHEALTHY LIFESTYLE

Coloroso: Walk your talk and talk your walk. Both of those are critical. We have to tell our kids why we're going out and exercising. I want to teach them to treat their bodies with dignity and regard. It's not hammering them or being moralistic or shaming them. I call those punishment-lite, when we shame, shun or compare them ("Look at your sister—she doesn't have zits"). None of that works. Encouragement, feedback and unconditional love are what work. They need constructive criticism. "It is okay to eat pizza, but it's not okay to eat it three times a day." I want to teach them to eat what will serve their bodies well.

Kropp: Turn off the television set. Buy them a membership at the Y. This starts much before the teenage years. We're raising the fattest generation in history. People assume it's a very dangerous world for young people. This is not true. It's actually a remarkably supportive world, with all kinds of opportunities. And yet parents are terrified, so they tell the kids, "Don't play outside. Stay in the basement and play Nintendo and get fat and stupid. We have a generation coming up that is fatter and a little bit stupider than the ones before. Especially the boys. And the girls are wearing these tiny jeans that show the midriff. The only way that they can take in the amount of food that the average teenager takes in and show the midriff is by being bulimic.

Wooding: Part of the problem is that parents are less involved with their kids than they used to be. Our values have become more about money, property and things than parenting and families. Parents are not there a lot of the time for meals. And they're handing their kids $5 and saying, "Here, buy lunch." So the kids go to McDonald's, to 7-Eleven, and buy junk food. Also, a lot of parents aren't taking their kids out and doing healthy things—hiking, biking, skating, skiing. They're too busy.

... IF YOU THINK YOUR TEEN IS BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST?

Coloroso: Don't minimize, explain away or excuse the other person's behaviour. Don't rush in and solve it for your kid. Don't tell them to avoid the other person, because the bully will find them anyway. Don't tell them to fight back. It's not a fight. If there's contempt of somebody, there's always an imbalance of power—the bully is often very popular, and well regarded by adults.

Tell them, "I hear you, I'm here for you, I believe you. You're not in this alone. It's not your fault." Next, they've got to know there are things they can do, including running. They can tell themselves, "I'm a decent, caring human being. This bully's made a terrible mistake for getting his needs met in a lousy way." Or they can come back with, "That comment is beneath both of us," which says, "I'm not bullying you back, but I'm not taking it either. I'm just inviting you to be bigger than you just were." Finally, report it to somebody, and make sure there's a plan for how to keep your kid safe.

Sacks: The parent has to go to the school and tell them what's happening. Often the kid will say, "Don't go, you'll make it worse for me." And that's not true. This is not a time when you should listen.

If your child is gay, there are certain health issues. Gay sexual initiation often involves anal sex, and that's very risky unless they take precautions, like wearing condoms. Many feel isolated and are victims of physical abuse. About 30 per cent of gay and lesbian teens try to commit suicide because they feel so desperate. So you have to make sure your child is comfortable with what's going on, and look for signs that they're depressed or withdrawn. If you're comfortable with their sexuality, you can be straightforward. If you're not, address the other issues. "I'm concerned because you're skipping school, you're not happy, your friends aren't coming around. Let's go talk to someone about it."

> "Lock up the booze in your house. If they want to drink, they have to buy their own, and it's expensive."
> —KROPP

50%

of teens have had sexual intercourse by age 16

—HEALTH CANADA

SPEAKING OUT | Booze and its consequences

CHRISTINE MCCOY'S first hangover has lasted a lot longer than the bouts of vomiting. The New Year's Eve party the 14-year-old Grade 9 student threw this year in the basement of her family's Calgary home ended abruptly after her mother, Lesley, a 40-year-old hospital dietician who was out for the evening with husband John, got anxious because Christine didn't call as she was supposed to. When Lesley and John, 43, the manager of a home renovation company, arrived home soon after, they found about 20 kids in their basement, empty liquor bottles lying around, and their daughter hopelessly drunk. Christine claimed she didn't realize her pop had been spiked.

The McCoys discovered that Christine, the eldest of three daughters, had drunk before at friends' homes. Relations between parents and kid had been fraying before the party because of the decline in Christine's marks and the fact that she spent four or five hours on weekdays, and sometimes 12 hours on Saturdays, chatting with friends on MSN. In response, her parents plan to purchase a locking cover for the computer keyboard. And they asked the vice-principal of Christine's school in their Lake Bonavista neighbourhood to distribute a letter they wrote about the New Year's Eve incident to the students' parents.

"When I heard that, I thought, OK, now everyone is going to hate me. I really wish [my parents] would just let this go. I know it's a big deal for them, and I guess I can't say anything because I don't know what it was like for them to see me that way. My mom says she hasn't been able to sleep the past few weeks because she doesn't know what to do. And they lost a lot of respect for me.

"I am on the computer all the time. When I'm not eating or watching TV I'm on it. But the lock is mean.

"I definitely eat too much junk food. My mom packs me healthy lunches, but I usually don't eat them. And then I use my money to buy crap at school, like fries and burgers. My parents shouldn't force me to eat healthy stuff. Most kids are junk food-aholics. A really bad parent is a parent who lets you do anything you want. You have to have some control. I think my parents are doing a pretty good job. Parents should aim for moderation—a little bit of freedom, a little bit of control."

ANTHONY DAVIS

SPEAKING OUT | Gay-positive folks

CHRIS HAYDEN was 15 when he told his parents he was gay. And he was pleasantly surprised at how accepting they were. Hayden, who grew up in Toronto before moving in with his father in Mississauga (his parents had divorced years earlier), says that support really helped him through an awkward time. Now 19 and a sociology student at the University of Ottawa, he also pays tribute to the support networks a big city like Toronto affords.

'Telling your parents that you're gay is a hard thing for anyone. It's sort of a funny story how it happened. I had skipped a ballet class to go to this support group for young gays in downtown Toronto, and arrived home late. I told my parents where I'd been and why. My mom's only comment was, 'Not only are you late, but you lied to me!' She wasn't mad about me telling her I was gay, but for not telling her where I'd been. After the dust cleared, everything worked itself out.

"One of things that made it easier was that I went to the Etobicoke School of the Arts, which is a very liberal place. People there are more interested in the person you are and less concerned about wasting time beating up people because they're gay.

"Coming out has brought me closer to my parents. I think it helped them understand why I was being all dark and teenage-like. It's been a lot easier to talk with my dad since I came out. He went to a couple of discussions of Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). He found it on his own; I didn't even think to mention it to him. It goes to show the type of parents I have—they really care about me.

"At times it's still a bit awkward, like when I bring boyfriends home. I told my mom about getting dumped recently. It was kind of funny because I'd lent the guy a pair of gloves she'd bought me for Christmas, so the first thing she said was to 'get the gloves back.'"

JOHN INTINI

33%

of 12- to 19-year-olds have used marijuana more than once

—HEALTH CANADA

'Coming out,' says Chris, 'brought me closer to my parents'



PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

... IF YOU THINK OR KNOW YOUR CHILD IS USING DRUGS OR ALCOHOL

Coloroso: The healthy response is not to panic or react out of fear or anger. Determine which of the parents has the best rapport with the kid, and that's the one you want to deal with it most. Then, you want a low-key dialogue to determine the whys and hows of your kid reaching that stage. If they come home dead drunk, I don't deal with it then. It's in the morning when they're feeling the pain that we'll talk. I give them encouragement. "We're going to get through this." I give them feedback about the serious effects drugs can have on their life—exposure to AIDS, loss of memory, how drugs and alcohol can lead to sexual activity they regret. I also talk about the pressures they're going to feel. We have to give them lines. My son used to say, "My mom will kill me"—which I would never do, but use whatever works.

I didn't ground them. But I might have said, "You can have a party at our house next Friday night." I wanted to show them they could have a party that's supervised without underaged drinking and still have fun. We don't show kids that enough.'

Kropp: If we could fix teenagers with communication and education, then we'd have a bunch of teenagers who wouldn't do drugs and wouldn't smoke. But those things don't really work. You've got to add a few other ingredients, like good early parenting, a little bit of luck and a decent group of friends.

The media tells kids it's appropriate to do drugs and drink. But a lot of kids are quite fearful about these things and would rather not. You might want to talk about the media hype, about the people they're watching on *Jerry Springer*. And lock up the booze in your house. If they want to drink, they have to buy their own, and it's expensive.

Sacks: If they're socializing and take a couple of beers at parties on weekends, then you have to have a discussion that says, "I'm worried that if you enjoy it too much, you might use it for more than just socializing—and drinking is illegal." Or, "I'm worried that you're drinking because you don't feel good enough about yourself to say no, or that there are some problems that you're masking with alcohol and drugs." Also, you have to mentor. You can't drink five glasses of wine and drive home after a family dinner.

... IF YOU THINK YOUR KID HAS AN EATING DISORDER

Coloroso: Tell the child, "We're going to work on this together—we'll fumble and make mistakes, but we're going to make it through this." And "I do love you, unconditionally." The situation calls for serious intervention. I don't care how healthy the family is, they can't do it alone. And if the child's life is at risk because of anorexia nervosa or bulimia, use extreme measures: if they can't make healthy decisions about their bodies, use intravenous feeding until their brain is stable. I don't believe in that kind of coercion unless it's life-threatening.

You might also ask, "What did I do to contribute to this?" Not, "What did I do to cause it?" because a kid is still a free agent. And then ask, "What can I do to help clean it up?" You can provide money for treatment, the time they're going to require of you. You can be willing to change what's happened in your family for generations—your time, your money and your effort. You may have to put a second mortgage on your home, but your kid's worth it. One parent may have to take leave. You may have to take a part-time job instead of a full-time one, because right now you've got a kid in crisis.

... IF YOUR KID HAS LEARNING OR BEHAVIOURAL PROBLEMS AT SCHOOL?

Coloroso: We have to look at the climate—not to make excuses for our kid's behaviour, but to let it be an explanation. What may not be accepted in one school is accepted in another. You need to find the best fit for your kid. Listen to her. They need you as an advocate. Also, show her some ways to relate to the teacher. There's no changing that teacher, but there are ways she can survive the class. Then, make sure she's not punished or excused for her behaviour, but truly disciplined. Every kid has to be accountable in a way that gives life to their learning. That's what "discipline" means—to give life to a child's learning. So when they make a mistake, do they own it? Do they learn from it?

Sacks: It may be low self-esteem or a learning problem where, rather than admit that they're lost, they take on a clown identity. The parent can say, "I don't understand what this behaviour is about. What do you think it's about? Can we stop it?" Kids may not know you're worried and if they learn that, it may be enough to set them free. But if it continues, you may need to go for professional help. You need to look at home too. Is there too much chaos?

Wooding: There is a breed of kids that literally attracts the bully, that will do annoying things to get attention from these people and then, when that attention becomes overwhelming, goes running for help. You need to sit down with an open mind and listen. If your kid is the victim, then you have to bolster their self-image. If you realize your child is bullying, then you have to deal with that. Make sure there are consequences.

If they're acting out in the classroom, you have to find out if it's because he can't do the work, or needs attention, or because there's a serious emotional disturbance? Punishment isn't the answer—you've got to find the cause. Start with an academic assessment, but with serious emotional disturbances you'll need to find a good child psychiatrist, which is as rare as hen's teeth. They are the only ones who can treat and medicate serious emotional disturbances.

40%
of teens drink alcohol regularly
—HEALTH CANADA

12%
of 12- to 19-year-old boys and 13 per cent of girls are overweight
—STATISTICS CANADA

> **"Temper tantrums tend to happen at 2, 5 or 15—the ages of rebellion when a child's emotional and intellectual skills don't match"**
> —COLOROSO

... IF YOUR TEEN IS HANGING OUT WITH FRIENDS YOU DON'T TRUST

Kropp: a) Discourage. b) Encourage. It's hard to tell your son or daughter that they can't be in contact with Johnny of the motorcycle gang, but that doesn't mean you have to drive them across town so that they can spend a lot of time with Johnny. An amazing number of parents do just that—they are facilitators. To some extent, you can discourage by not facilitating. That's a start. It's very difficult for parents to encourage new friendships, but sometimes that can be done.

Sacks: Children, like most human beings, will do whatever you tell them not to. The real job is to express your concern—not say, "I forbid you to see them," but "I'm uncomfortable with you seeing Johnny and Jim because they're both known in the neighbourhood to be heavily into drugs and they don't care about school and we do in this family." Create doubt. "I don't think they're good friends for you, I don't think they like you, they didn't call when you were expecting them to."

Often, they hang out with bad kids because they're the only kids who will hang out with them. They don't *choose* the wrong group—these are the leftovers. If your kid isn't heavily involved in bad behaviour, and you see him starting to be picked up by these bad kids, then it's good to start looking for some volunteer work, like the food bank. They may meet kids who are more worthwhile.

Wooding: Kids aren't *sucked in* by a peer group; they choose their friends. If your kid is hanging out with kids who use drugs, it's because he feels comfortable with them. Instead of trying to break up these friendships, which is almost impossible to do, you have to try to figure out why your kid feels comfortable with that group.

You have to make sure your impression is correct because there can be some kids who look pretty weird but are actually pretty nice. Get to know them. Don't ban them from your home, get them into your home. If your impressions are right, then maybe counselling is needed, or a change in schedule. Maybe spend more time with your kids. You need to look: are they having success at school? Are they involved in any extracurricular activities? Look at what they're good at and try to find an activity to match it.

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SPEAKING OUT | Notes of discord

BEN PINSONNEAULT is a bright, polite 15-year-old in Calgary. His parents split when he was two, and he switches weekly between his father's place and the house of his mother, Maria, 40, who runs a vending machine business, tends bar in a pub and provides room and board to foreign students. There's much conflict between him and his mom, especially over his lack of dedication to homework (the result of practising with his band, Recession of the Right, for four hours four nights a week) and his failure to always let her know his whereabouts. The Grade 10 student gets along with his father, Grant Painter, 46, president of a company that hires teens to do household jobs, because he says they have more in common—both have played in rock bands.

"Mom has a point about me not calling. I can understand why she gets angry. But for some reason, no matter how many times she tells me, I just keep forgetting. I wouldn't trust me sometimes either, I guess. I do wish my mom would talk to me more. Even if she would just sit down at the dinner table and talk to me. It would be nice if we could even go out someplace together, like once every week or two. I'm always out of the house, and I don't get to see her that much. I think if we talked more, we'd get along better. She never has enough time.

"I know this kid whose parents are stricter than any parents I've seen, and he's the one doing serious drugs. In my school there's everything from ecstasy to cocaine. A lot of kids are involved in that stuff. I've been asked to try drugs, and I don't find it hard to say no. My friends accept my choices completely. I think the peer pressure thing is a misconception. I do drink, but only once in a while. It would be almost impossible to find a kid in high school who hasn't drunk before.

"I guarantee you no one knows how to deal with teenagers in general. They're all individual. Maybe if someone talked to a kid for a few days, they could tell the parent how to deal with them." ANTHONY DAVIS

'I can understand,' says Ben of his mom, 'why she gets angry'



Hold on to Your Kids
Gordon Neufeld and Gabor Maté
Knopf
$35



Rage, Rebellion & Rudeness
Scott Wooding
Fitzhenry & Whiteside
$24.95

PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD KOROL

REVIEW | Does peer group trump family?

SPARE THE ROD and spoil the child, hold them close, let them explore. Given the pace of modern social upheavals, it's no wonder child-care advice seemingly reverses itself every few years to suit current needs. In 1998, Judith Rich Harris caused a stir by declaring that the only thing parents can do is ensure their kids get in a good peer group, because peers trump family in determining children's personalities and futures. (Cynical observers thought the concept a perfect balm for those women who still felt guilty working outside the home—it practically demanded they work, the better to afford an upscale daycare for junior.)

Now, psychologist Gordon Neufeld and physician Gabor Maté agree—unhappily—with the peer power thesis, and urge a parental counterattack in their new book, **Hold on to Your Kids: Why Parents Matter** (Knopf). On the other hand, in **Rage, Rebellion & Rudeness** (Fitzhenry & Whiteside), psychologist Scott Wooding suggests we all take a Valium. No matter what their words or actions indicate, your teens rely on *you*, and not their friends, to show them how to become adults.

For Neufeld and Maté, society no longer supports the natural attachment of parent and offspring, and because parents question their own moral authority, older children are turning to other teens as the source of self-image, values and identity. Simply put, this peer orientation is a disaster for kids. It casts them adrift in a *Lord of the Flies* world of adolescent interaction, cheating them of the innocence, vulnerability and childlike openness required for growth." The authors' tone is urgent, fuelled not just by research but also by alarming experiences with their own kids. But their advice is measured: parents must not "abandon the field." Maintain family outings and holidays; eat together as often as you can. Make time for activities that foster emotional intimacy.

Since Wooding's perspective is, essentially, the kids are all right, his book is more of a how-to manual for easing a relationship that is in no danger of disappearing. Sensible sections on "setting the rules" and "sentencing the culprit" stress mutual respect and parental patience. If he has one prime directive, it's never lose your temper with a hormonally deranged teenager. Stay calm, stay the adult, and your child may even thank you 10 years down the road. BRIAN GETHUNE

... IF YOUR CHILD IS DEPRESSED OR HAS DIFFICULTIES WITH ANGER MANAGEMENT

Coloroso: I want kids to understand that anger is a real feeling. It's what you do with it that makes all the difference in the world. They need to be able to keep their cool without putting their feelings on ice. That's not easy. I want to help kids to do five things: acknowledge their own feelings and label them, do something responsible and purposeful to address those feelings, make a statement about themselves like, "When I'm feeling this angry, there are things I can do", acknowledge other people's feelings and not pass judgment on them, find alternative ways of expressing their anger that are responsible and affirming—going for a run, writing an article in the paper or confronting the person with whom they're angry. But I've got to caution, it's hard to do this when your kid is in the middle of a full blown rage. Temper tantrums tend to happen at 2, 5 or 15—the ages of rebellion when a child's emotional and intellectual skills don't match. Then, you do whatever you can to keep them from hurting themselves and others.

Kropp: If your kid is depressed, you could get counselling, which sometimes helps. Or, take the more aggressive approach and go out, get some exercise, go to the Y, find some things to do. Depression and boredom are often conflated. These are dull answers, but most parenting is really pretty dull.

Wooding: Teenage depression doesn't manifest itself as clearly as adult depression. With adults, you have the whole demeanour—you're sad, you're lacking energy, you keep to yourself. But teenage depression can come out in irritability, sleeping problems. And of course all teenagers are irritable to a certain extent so parents can miss it.

There's an environmental kind of depression: your kid has just been dumped by a boyfriend or failed a big exam, or a relative has just died. These are things that parents can deal with if they have good communication with their kids. Otherwise, counselling can help. But there's also clinical depression, where a chemical imbalance in the brain is at play. Then the answer is antidepressants as well as counselling. Counselling alone will be very slow with teenagers. They don't have the insight or maturity to change their behaviour very easily.

SPEAKING OUT | Years up in smoke

MICHELLE CHAYTOR, a 19-year-old in St. John's, used marijuana heavily between ages 16 and 18. She says she'd been a pretty good student who attended class regularly when she began smoking, and ended up dropping out during Grade 11, "too stoned to pay much attention to what was going on." She is now unemployed, eight months pregnant and living with parents Brenda, 45, and Roger, 54. Michelle's parents have given up the master bedroom so that she and the baby can comfortably occupy it.

"I was into marijuana really heavy until about a year and a half ago—it was really bad. Me and my mom and dad weren't getting along because I was always coming home high. My eyes would be red and I'd be talking funny and I'd be munching-out all the time. They're not stupid.

"Mom never used to say anything. Dad would pick me up sometimes and say, "You're stoned again tonight!" and start flipping out—because he picked me up whenever I'd call. He used to tell me he wouldn't pick me up again. But he would, because I hung out in a bad area and he didn't want me walking back home in the dark.

"There was nothing my parents could do—it had to come from me. But I couldn't go one day without having it. I realized everything was going downhill for me and it wasn't going to get better—and I didn't want to be like that. So I stopped hanging around with that group of people and began going around with people who weren't doing it. I stayed at home a lot and barred myself in my room. It was very hard coming down. I couldn't sleep, and I'd get the shakes and crave it. "I think my parents handled it well. They never lectured me about it. When I was trying to quit, they were pretty good. Mom used to take me to the mall, to go shopping or go out for dinner."

GAVIN WILL

10%

of Canada's 3.7 million teens may suffer from depression and anxiety
—STATISTICS CANADA



Michelle 'couldn't go one day' without using marijuana

PHOTOGRAPH BY SHELLAGH O'LEARY

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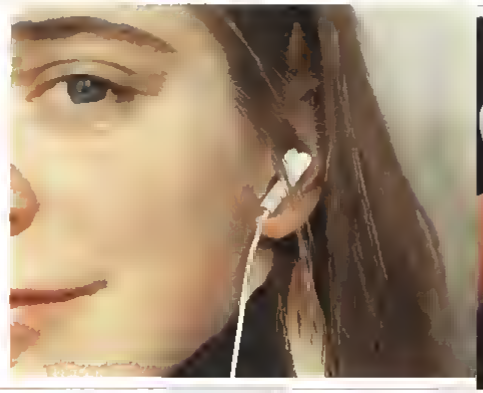
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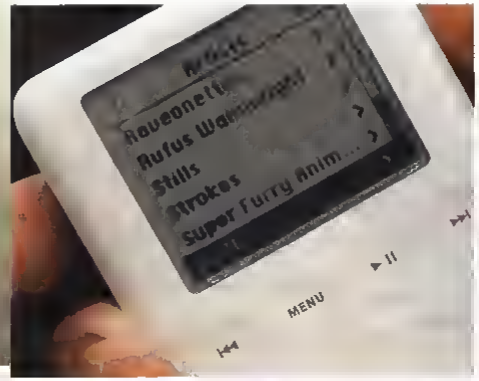
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PERFECT PITCH

Apple's music box works—and makes a statement







KARA FRASER'S FRIENDS used to get a chuckle when they saw how the 29-year-old illustrator packed for a trip. Invariably, Fraser—who travels frequently from Toronto to New York and Montreal for work, and to visit family in Moncton, N.B.—would load up with art supplies, a change of clothes and a huge stack of compact discs. Music plays a big part in Fraser's life: she calls it her creative inspiration while she's painting, and on the road, nothing makes the kilometres go faster for her than *Solsbury Hill* by Peter Gabriel. "I have very eclectic taste and whenever I travel I bring a range of music," she says. "So often my biggest carry-on was my CD collection." Fed up with hauling even a tiny selection of her 530-CD library, Fraser dropped more than $800 on an iPod, the hottest digital music player on the market. "I finally decided to get one," she says, "and after I tried it I thought to myself, 'What a godsend.' Now I travel with 4,325 songs and they can play continuously for nine days. How sweet is that?"

Sweet indeed. Apple's iPod, a slim, white and simple-to-use gadget, has exploded into mainstream popularity. The unpretentious white earbuds that identify users as they bob along in an audio cocoon have become common sights on bus rides, in the gym or in the park. Apple has sold more than two million iPods since launching the gadget in late 2001—nearly 735,000 in the final three months of 2003 alone. Retailers simply can't stock them fast enough. "Anything that has the iPod name on it has done extremely well," says Jamie Tetreault, corporate merchandise manager for Future Shop in Burnaby, B.C. "What inventory I can get just blows off the shelves." About the size of a deck of cards, and possessing between five and 40 gigabytes of storage space, the ultra-chic device has already captured more than 30 per cent of the lucrative market for digital music players. And despite growing competition from high-tech giants such as Dell and Microsoft, Apple's share could soon jump. Last Friday, the iPod Mini went on sale in the U.S. (due in Canada in April), which has less storage space but is less expensive and comes in five different pastel colours.

Call it an iPhenom. Often, high-tech toys that are viewed as cool at first ultimately disappoint because they're confusing to use or quickly become redundant as newer models hit the market. But iPods, like so many of the products produced by Apple, engender remarkable brand loyalty. Alan Middleton, a marketing professor at York University's Schulich School of Business in Toronto, believes that's because iPod is more than just a great gadget. "To make something a success, it has to have charisma," explains Middleton with a chuckle. "All through its ups and downs, Apple has has good designers. So the thing looks good."

The first digital music player hit the market in 1998, just before college students started using a cool music-sharing program called Napster. By the time iPod launched in October 2001, early adopters had already bought their first MP3 players and been disappointed. Few of the early models had a big enough hard drive to hold more than a few hours of music, and they cost far more than a CD player. Meanwhile, iPod's message was simple: 1,000 songs in your pocket and song-a-second downloads from your computer. "It was a gadget that managed to fulfill all of the unfulfilled promises of the previous generation of MP3 players," says Max Valiquette, president of Youthography, a national research and marketing company that gives iPods to young consumers who take part in their surveys.

The rise of digital music spurred iPod sales, and file-sharing networks such as Napster and Kazaa made downloading music popular. Apple's iTunes Music Store made it legal, and potentially lucrative, launched less than a year ago, but only in the U.S., the buck-a-song service sold one million tracks within a week. When Apple opened the door to Windows users last October, weekly sales increased to 1.5 million songs. In a relatively short time, Apple managed to become the hottest seller of MP3 players, and arguably the best place to buy music.

Chris Chamberlain, a 42-year-old Calgarian, is president of an oil and gas services company and spends a week out of every month in some far-off location like China, Brazil or Bahrain, lending his expertise in seismic instrumentation to international clients. For Christmas, Chamberlain bought his then 11-year-old son, Ty, an iPod. Exercising a father's right to "test" the toys before wrapping them, Chamberlain fiddled with the new 20-gigabyte unit. "I was blown away with how easy it was." Now, Chamberlain travels with his own iPod (a 40-gig model) and stores his CDs in two huge drawers of an armoire. "I took my entire music collection and loaded it on to my computer," says Chamberlain. "I don't have any use for CDs any more."

Arguably, iPod's success can be attributed directly to Apple. No other high-tech company can boast such unwavering support from its small but influential customer base. MacHeads—devotees of the company's Macintosh personal computers—tend to be well-educated, creative types. The Cupertino, Calif., company's products have style: in 2001, New York City's Museum of Modern Art included the elegant, Plexiglas-encased Macintosh Cube to its design collection. "Apple is definitely cool," says Gavin Reedman, 26, a Toronto Web site designer. "Whenever I go to agencies and see people with Macs, I just assume that that person thinks on the same wavelength as I do."

Middleton has a theory about that. "Part of the way we complete ourselves as personalities is in the products we buy and use," says the marketing prof. "And if you own and listen to a product that is considered tech cool, then you are tech cool." It's a message Apple has employed in its print and TV advertising for iPod, which shows a silhouetted hipster grooving against a neon background with the bright white gadget plainly in view. That techno-sexiness, a reputation earned through both design and slick marketing, has paid off. Hot New York DJs cart tunes to clubs on their iPods. Hip-hop stars like 50 Cent rap about their prized gadgets. "You cannot create a phenomenon unless your brand or product is directly endorsed with examples like that," says Valiquette. "That's absolutely the Holy Grail for anyone trying to create a phenomenon."

Despite the buzz, iPods have their detractors. In December, unhappy customers filed five separate class-action lawsuits claiming Apple misrepresented the life of the iPod's rechargable batteries. Apple now promises to replace dead units, even after their warranty is up, for US$99. But the biggest disappointment so far, especially for Canadians, is the inability to buy music from the iTunes store anywhere outside the U.S. "We're working on iTunes being available in Canada," says Will Powell, a strategic development manager with Apple. "There are international agreements that take time to establish, but it's something that is currently being worked on."

Fraser, the artistic traveller, has no complaints. Buying an iPod isn't life-altering, she says, but it makes life *convenient*. "I liquidated half of my CDs, because they are kind of irrelevant now," she says. "I invited friends to look through my collection and I just gave half of them away." Which is what happens to the *last* great gadget. M

iPODS & iTUNES BY THE NUMBERS

31 per cent of all MP3 player sales

2 million iPods sold since October 2001 launch

55 per cent of total MP3 player revenues

US$1 billion total MP3 player sales in 2003

US$2.5 billion projected sales in 2005

100,000 orders of new iPod Mini

30 million iTunes store downloads

70 per cent of legal downloaded music market through iTunes

100 million projected iTunes Music Store downloads for 2004

250 (and counting) accessories made for iPods, including holsters, microphones and FM transmitters

10,000 songs (or 650 hours of music, or 27 days) on 40-gig iPod



Apple has added colourful Minis to its iPod line

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW EASSON (LEFT); PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S. PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW EASSON

THE PAPER TRAIL

The Hollinger suits revolve around newspaper sales

INCLUDING THE LAWSUIT before Delaware's Chancery Court last week, there are at least 10 legal actions swirling around Hollinger International Inc. and its former CEO, Conrad Black. With all the complicated claims and counterclaims, it's easy to lose sight of what is at the heart of the controversy: the 1998-2001 sales of most of Hollinger's newspapers for roughly US$3 billion. The complaints, including one by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, make serious allegations about how the sales were negotiated and structured, how they were approved (or not approved), and who benefited.

Conrad Black denies any wrongdoing, and claims any payments he received from non-compete agreements had previously been approved. But the charges, as yet unproven in court, are explosive, suggesting that Hollinger executives were at both ends of some deals. In February 2001, Horizon Publications, controlled by Black and Hollinger International president David Radler, allegedly bought two newspapers from Hollinger International for only US$1.

Non-compete agreements are a fairly standard practice in which sellers agree not to compete with papers they are selling. For tax reasons, a portion of the sale price often goes to the seller's non-compete agreement. What the complainants object to is that many of Hollinger's non-compete payments went directly to individual executives, and sometimes to parent firms, instead of going to the actual seller of the papers, Hollinger International. In one case cited in a lawsuit, a "sham" non-compete payment of US$2.6 million was allegedly made to Black from American Publishing in return for his agreement not to compete with it, even though American Publishing was a wholly owned subsidiary of Hollinger International. The accompanying chart outlines the contentious sales.

What lawsuits against Conrad Black claim about the controversial sales of Hollinger International's newspapers and the resultant non-compete payments (in U.S. dollars unless otherwise stated).



CONRAD BLACK

INTERTEC PUBLISHING CORP.
May 1998: Purchase of U.S. newspapers[1]
Cost: $77 million
Non-compete portion: $2 million

COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER HOLDINGS INC.
Feb. 1999: Purchase of U.S. newspapers[1]
Cost: $434 million
Non-compete portion: $50 million
Nov. 2000: Purchase of U.S. newspapers[1]
Cost: $90 million
Non-compete portion: $12.5 million

HORIZON PUBLICATIONS INC.
(Majority-owned and controlled by Black and Radler[1])
March 1999: Purchase of U.S. newspapers
Cost: $46.8 million[1] (of which $8 million loaned by Hollinger Int'l[2])
Non-compete portion: $5 million[1]
Feb. 2001: Purchase of two U.S. newspapers[2]
Cost: $1
Aug. 2001: Purchase of U.S. publications[2]
Cost: $1

RAVELSTON CORP. LTD
Black: 65% ownership
Radler: 14.2% ownership
(Rest held by six current/past Hollinger executives or directors)

HOLLINGER INC.
Ravelston: 78% ownership
Black: Chairman and CEO
Radler: President and COO

HOLLINGER INTERNATIONAL INC.
Hollinger Inc.: 73% of votes
30.3% of equity
Black: Chairman and CEO
Radler: President and COO

AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO.
(100% subsidiary of Hollinger Int'l)
Feb. 2001: Non-compete payments
$5.5 million[1]

CANWEST GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS CORP.
Nov. 2000: Purchase of major Canadian dailies[1]
Cost: $2.3 billion
Non-compete portion: $52.9 million
Perpetual annual management service agreement with Ravelston:
C$6 million/yr[1]

OSPREY MEDIA GROUP
July 2001: Purchase of Canadian newspapers[1]
Cost: $140 million
Non-compete portion: $4.5 million
Nov. 2001: Purchase of two Canadian newspapers[1]
Cost: $3.3 million
Non-compete portion: $696,000

BRADFORD PUBLISHING CO.
(Black and Radler are shareholders)
2000: Purchase of U.S. newspapers[2]
Cost: $38 million
Non-compete portion: $6 million
(paid in the form of an interest-free, 10-year note)

FORUM COMMUNICATIONS CO.
Sept. 2000: Purchase of U.S. newspapers[1]
Cost: $14 million
Non-compete portion: $400,000

PMG ACQUISITION CORP.
Oct. 2000: Purchase of U.S. newspapers[1]
Cost: $59 million
Non-compete portion: $2 million

$77M · $434M · $90M · $46.8M · $1 · $1 · $2.6M · $4.3M · $750K · $12M · $2M · $1.2M · $11.9M · $285K · C$6M/yr · $26.5M · $315K · $2M · $2.3B · $140M · $3.3M · $38M · $500K · $100K · $14M · $59M

TOTAL NON-COMPETE PAYMENTS PAID TO:

Conrad Black: $21.4 million	Hollinger Inc.: $16.6 million
David Radler: $21.4 million	Ravelston: $26.5 million

Sources: 1. Hollinger International v. Hollinger Inc., Ravelston Corp. Ltd., Conrad Black, David Radler etc. (Jan. 14, 2004); 2. Cardinal Value Equity Partners LP v. Conrad Black etc. and Hollinger International (Dec. 9, 2003); 3. Hollinger International's 2002 annual report

DIANE BONDAREFF/AP · ILLUSTRATION BY KAGAN MCLEOD



ACT NOW, OR RISK A CRASH

Alan Greenspan must raise U.S. interest rates to shore up the dollar

THE SUPPOSEDLY staid and cautious Alan Greenspan, chairman of the supposedly staid and cautious Federal Reserve, is looking more and more like a riverboat gambler Week after week, he places big bets on a big economic recovery that will bring big gains in employment without also bringing back inflation

Greenspan no longer has blue chips to bet, and he may soon run out of red chips The currency for which he is responsible keeps depreciating against the currencies of the other players on the global table—even the Russian ruble Yet he continues to lend it out at the Wal Martian bargain rate of one per cent The Bank of Japan lends out its money at virtually zero, so Greenspan isn't the most aggressive central banker around, but this is what the Fed was charging during the Depression. (Japan has a huge current account surplus, so it can do what it wants)

Why does the Fed continue to price its money so cheaply with the economy strengthening? Why is the Fed taking such a chance on a panic run on the dollar by failing to pay foreigners an interest rate that would keep them invested in the weakest major currency? Candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination tell voters that Bush is responsible for creating the worst unemployment situation since Herbert Hoover's day In reality, the nation's unemployment rate is about one-fifth the level reached in those grim times, the stock market is strong and the complaint one hears most frequently is about the tasteless halftime show during the Super Bowl

WHY is the Fed taking such a chance on a panic run on the dollar by failing to pay foreigners an interest rate that would keep them invested in the weakest major currency?

Even that archetypal symbol of American strength/weakness—the steel industry—seems to be regaining its long-lost potency Its financial Viagra comes from an unlikely source—soaring prices Hot rolled coil steel, the benchmark product for such big steel-consuming industries as automobiles, now sells near US$500 a tonne, up from less than US$200 two years ago But scrap steel sells now for US$350 a tonne, far more than what real steel sold for two years ago So robust is demand for scrap that the U S steel industry is going back to the White House to ask for protection—this time against scrap prices Most U S steel producers now rely on scrap steel, from sources such as discarded cars and building demolition sites, rather than iron ore Now, these companies bleat that China's huge demand for scrap is killing them, because high prices for steel don't offset the high prices for scrap They want an embargo on scrap exports In other words, the guys who begged Bush for protection against steel imports are now trying to block a form of steel export

Americans are scared that this could be the first economic recovery that doesn't make things right again Greenspan talks of economic growth in the 4 5 to five-per-cent range, which should be more than enough to restore traditional American optimism But his version of rational exuberance, which used to be infectious, no longer wows Main Street, even though Wall Street still loves his cheery forecasts

Two problems prevent the good news from the economy's top line from creating jobs, the voters' bottom line First is the trade deficit It rose 17 1 per cent last year, more than five times as fast as the economy, to US$489 billion, up from US$418 billion in 2002 Canada remains a big contributor to that deficit, despite the strong loonie Canada's 2003 positive balance of trade with the U.S was US$54 4 billion, up from US$48 2 billion Of course, China remains on top, running a US$124 billion surplus, up from US$103 billion

That U S trade deficit explains why American manufacturing jobs are melting like ice in Lake Michigan in March But another trend—offshoring—is causing even more widespread angst As white-collar jobs migrate to Asia on the Internet, a natural Republican constituency made up of call centre operators, personnel managers, programmers, architects, radiologists and accountants migrates to the Democrats For the first time, more college grad Americans are unemployed than non graduates The widely watched monthly University of Michigan consumer sentiment index sent the stock market reeling on Feb 13, when it was reported at 93 1, down a huge 10 7 points

The Fed has a long record of holding down interest rates after a recession until jobs come back That is in part a political decision, Congress and the administration would be inflamed if the Fed tightened rates in a job-loss environment But the basic reason for the low rates is that wages soften during downturns and don't tend to climb until a new boom is well-launched Since employment costs are roughly two thirds of overall costs, it's hard to get inflation back to the front burner if wage growth is subdued—or non-existent.

But Greenspan watches commodity prices for signs of returning inflation, particularly scrap steel, oil, copper and gold, and their price increases show that business's non-employment costs are rising sharply at a time when the dollar is falling steeply The longer he waits to defend the dollar—and most economists believe he won't raise rates this year—the more he risks a 1987 style dollar crisis, leading to a stock market crash

Greenspan was new in his job back then So he knows what he must do Soon

Donald Coxe is chairman of Harris Investment Management in Chicago and of Toronto based Jones Heward Investments dcoxe@macleans ca

What is "Net Atkins Count™"?

Not all carbohydrates have the same metabolic effect on our bodies Atkins uses ingredients such as fibre that have a minimal impact on blood sugar levels compared to such ingredients as sugar and flour All our product packages display a circled number, indicating the Net Atkins Count™ Net Atkins Count™ indicates the carbs that significantly impact blood sugar levels, and these are the only carbs you need to count when you do Atkins

Atkins Controlled Carb Products Are Now Available in Canada!

Atkins products can help you successfully control your weight with no sacrifice in taste or convenience Instead of using sugar and white flour Atkins uses non caloric sweeners derived from sugar and other sweeteners, and contain soy, fibre and other carbohydrates that have a minimal impact on blood sugar They contain no hydrogenated oils or trans fats Look for Atkins products wherever healthy foods are sold



Full line of wholesome, high protein on the go snacks. Just 1 3 grams Net Atkins Count. Try delicious flavours like Advantage Chocolate Shake Endulge Peanut Butter Cups and Advantage Almond Brownie Bar to name a few



Tasty breakfast items to start your day right Just 0 3 grams Net Atkins Count. Blueberry Banana Nut and Corn Muffin Mixes also available



Introducing Atkins supplements, scientifically designed for controlled carb living. With a balance of vitamins minerals and antioxidants, they're perfectly suited for your lifestyle.

To learn more about the Atkins lifestyle Atkins products or Atkins retailers go to www atkins ca

ATKINS
FEEL THE ATKINS CHANGE™

THE FACTS ABOUT ATKINS™: WHAT, WHY and HOW

FOLD HERE

ATKINS
FEEL THE ATKINS CHANGE

The Atkins Nutritional Approach™ (ANA) is the #1 controlled carbohydrate program for lifetime weight management.

You have probably heard a lot about Atkins, some of it true, and some perhaps not We went people who do Atkins to do it right and that's why we are providing the facts Atkins has been around for 40 years, during which time hundreds of thousands of people have enjoyed success on the program Perhaps Atkins is also right for you

How Does Atkins Work?

- Both carbohydrates and fat provide fuel for your body
- When carbs are available, your body transforms them into energy first. Any excess carbs are stored as body fat
- When you reduce carbs to a certain level, your body primarily burns fat, including body fat, and you can lose weight — or maintain your goal weight In fact, Atkins is more effective for weight loss than "low-fat" approaches, as shown by recent scientific studies conducted at four research institutions (each lasting six months or longer) * Research also shows that many people have seen improvements in both their cholesterol and triglyceride profiles.
- To access these and other recent scientific studies, visit www atkins ca

Controlling Carbs With Atkins Means

FACT Finding your individual tolerance for carbs, both to lose weight and then to maintain your goal weight for life.

FACT Cutting out processed foods full of sugar and white flour, as well as restricting other high carb foods

FACT Retaining "good" carbs full of nutrients, found in foods like green leafy vegetables (and many berries and fruits in later phases).

FACT Eating a wide variety of foods, including protein, healthy fats and "good" carbs

MYTH It doesn't mean eating "zero carbs," eating only steak, bacon and eggs or eliminating all vegetables and fruit.

* Ref. '01 Philadelphia VA Hospital, government funded; Feb '02 U of Penn (tri-annual study) government funded; July '02 Wake Dr. Robert C. Atkins Foundation funded; Oct. '03, Ohio Cincinnati, American Heart Assoc. funded

The Four Phases of Atkins

The Atkins Nutritional Approach™ (ANA) is an easy to follow four-phase program. Initially, you cut back significantly on carb intake to lose weight, then you gradually add back a variety of "good" carbs as you get closer to your goal weight. Once you reach your goal weight, you will find your individual ACE (Atkins Carbohydrate Equilibrium), meaning the approximate daily Net Atkins Count™ you can continue to eat without gaining or losing weight (see chart at bottom right). Changes in your activity level, hormonal status or other factors may raise or lower your ACE. Here's how to do Atkins properly**

PHASE 1 – INDUCTION

We recommend you do the first phase of Atkins for at least two weeks. You will be staying at or below 20 grams Net Atkins Count™ per day. (Carbs such as fibre don't count in this tally.) Eat three meals a day or four or five smaller meals, if preferred. Don't skip meals. Eat until you're satisfied but not stuffed.

- A sample breakfast might consist of an avocado tomato omelette and decaf coffee with cream. For lunch you could have a salad with grilled chicken breast. Dinner might include broiled salmon and spinach sauteed with garlic.
- Foods that combine protein and fat, such as poultry, fish, red meat and eggs, will be the foundation of your meals.
- Most of your carbs will come from nutrient-dense foods such as leafy green vegetables dressed in olive oil.
- Take the three Atkins supplements described in the opposite column, or other similar supplements.
- Drink at least two litres of water each day to hydrate your body and flush out any impurities.
- Exercise regularly, preferably combining an aerobic activity such as walking or running with an anaerobic activity such as weight training. *Always check with your physician before starting any exercise program.*

PHASE 2 – ONGOING WEIGHT LOSS (OWL)

Slow your weight loss by gradually increasing your carb intake in increments of 5 grams Net Atkins Count™. (For example, 6 asparagus spears and half a tomato contain roughly 5 grams Net Atkins Count™.) Choose your additional carbs wisely, starting with non-starchy vegetables, berries (lower in carbs than other fruits) or Atkins controlled carb alternative foods. Never assume any food is low in carbs; instead, read labels and use a carb gram counter (visit www.atkins.ca).

- The first week, move up to 25 grams Net Atkins Count™ per day.
- If you continue to lose weight, move to a daily intake of 30 grams Net Atkins Count™ the next week, and so forth until weight loss stops for a few days in a row.
- Drop back 5 grams and you should continue losing weight slowly. Stay at this Net Atkins Count™ until you come within 2 to 5 kilos of your target weight.

**REMEMBER: The instructions and advice presented with this article are in no way intended as medical advice or as a substitute for medical counselling. Consult your physician before beginning this program as you would any weight-loss program. Your physician should be aware of all medical conditions that you may have as well as the medications and supplements you are taking. Those of you on diuretics or diabetic medication should proceed only under a doctor's supervision. As with any plan, the weight-loss phases of the

PHASE 3 – PRE-MAINTENANCE

When you get within 2 to 5 kilos of your goal weight, move to Pre-Maintenance. By losing these last few kilos very slowly, you'll ease yourself into a permanently changed way of eating.

- Each week, add more grams (as much as 10) of carbs to your daily allotment, going, for example, from 50 grams Net Atkins Count™ a day to 60 the next week.
- As long as you continue to lose weight at an almost imperceptible rate, gradually introduce other fruits, such as grapefruit, kiwi or melon, whole grains and yams and other starchy vegetables.
- When you achieve and maintain your goal weight for at least a month, you have found the Net Atkins Count™ level called your ACE and have effectively moved to the final phase of Atkins.

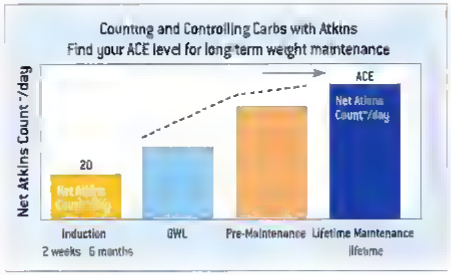
PHASE 4 – LIFETIME MAINTENANCE

To maintain your goal weight, stay at your newly found ACE.

- Your ACE may range from as low as 40 to 120 or more grams Net Atkins Count™ daily, depending on your metabolism, age, gender, activity level or other factors.
- Continue to follow this healthful and satisfying way of eating and engage in regular exercise for effective weight control.
- Changes in your activity level, hormonal status or other factors may raise or lower your ACE.

Recommended Supplements*** to Enhance Weight Control and Health While Following the ANA

- Atkins Basic #3 Formula™ is a multivitamin that helps maintain existing blood sugar levels already within the normal range and provides antioxidants to help neutralize free radicals.
- Atkins Dieters' Advantage™ makes it easier to manage appetite and utilize fat efficiently — without stimulants. It also promotes healthy metabolic function.
- Atkins Essential Oils™ include omega 3 and omega 6 oils in the form of borage, flaxseed and fish oils, which help maintain good health.



Coming soon to Canada.



'FOR THE WORSE'

Canada's Muslim community faces new pressures

The decision by American authorities to deport Canadian computer engineer Maher Arar to his native Syria in September 2002 highlighted several flaws in the way security agencies in Canada and the U.S. are trying to grapple with the global terror threat. Riad Saloojee, a lawyer and executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada, recently spoke with Maclean's *correspondent* Alan Martin *on the problems facing Muslims in Canada since the World Trade Center attacks, the dangers of racial profiling, and the Arar case.*

How has life changed for Canada's Muslim community since Sept. 11?

We did a survey in September 2002 in which a third of respondents said their lives had changed for the worse. People generally blamed discrimination, racial profiling and a heightened state of fear and anxiety. The anti-terrorism legislation gutted some very basic rights and freedoms that are entrenched under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But Sept. 11 was also very productive in breaking down barriers between Muslims and the general Canadian society. About 22 per cent said their lives had changed for the better because they now had the opportunity for greater dialogue and debate.

How have anti-terrorism measures affected Canadian Muslims?

CSIS and the RCMP can procure information from foreign intelligence agencies and governments that are not democratic, that have no transparency in how they accumulate evidence. That evidence is inherently unreliable, yet the solicitor general can use it in designating someone as a terrorist. Once the label is levelled, a person's life is completely ruined. There is a feeling that could happen at the drop of a hat. Let's say we express an opinion that is not necessarily popular, for example that we disagree with the war in Iraq—there is concern that we may be pegged as terrorists.

Has this translated into Muslims being less visible in the expression of their faith?

Yes, there has been a chilling effect. Our office gets a lot of calls from Muslims saying that CSIS or the RCMP wants to visit them. That by itself is not a problem, though some of the tactics are unethical and unconstitutional. People are told, "There are a lot of questions you need to answer, but you don't need to have a lawyer with you." Typically, the questions are very loaded. "Do you pray? Do you pray five times a day? At which mosque? Who do you know in the community? What are your views about Afghanistan?" These questions would be deemed completely irrelevant if you had a lawyer present. This has been quite traumatic—many people have experienced it.

Canada prides itself on encouraging new immigrants to maintain their cultural identities. Some have criticized this for creating a dual sense of loyalty. Do you see Canada's multicultural policies being a help or hindrance to cultural relations?

There is a lot of commonality between Islamic traditions and Canadian values. The Muslim community is a hodgepodge microcosm of the world. We have upwards of 44 different ethnicities; we have different languages, cultures, economic and political backgrounds. But within Islamic values you find universal constants like peace, justice, mercy, generosity, fairness, a strong sense of equality and social justice. If you look at studies on what it means to be Canadian, they generally speak of similar values. The two identities are strongly complementary.

An imam in Toronto recently said that, in his opinion, "this word 'al-Qaeda' has been invented." Do such comments not perpetuate the perception that Canada's Muslim community doesn't speak out strongly enough against extremism?

Unfortunately, religion is sometimes twisted to suit certain ideals of violence and aggression. It's interesting that those who propagate an apocalyptical clash of civilizations, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, have a

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

great deal in common If you believe there is inherent conflict between East and West, there probably will be It falls on Muslims to explain what they see to be mainstream Islam, based on the correct understanding of the texts But claiming that Muslims don't speak out against extremists is unfair The community did condemn the Sept. 11 attacks in the most unequivocal terms

U.S Secretary of Homeland Security Tom Ridge has implemented a plan to photograph and fingerprint millions of foreign travellers on arrival in the U.S. How do you respond to proponents of racial profiling who argue that the innocent have nothing to fear?

Researchers have found that there is absolutely no definitive evidence that racial profiling works Many U S police chiefs have argued against it Their argument is we have established relationships of trust and loyalty with the Muslim community If we are seen to be randomly and arbitrarily profiling, we are going to lose that trust, we're going to make detective work and smart intelligence—profiling based on behaviour and not characteristics like race and religion—more difficult Once you start profiling, it's a slippery slope. Once you start tinkering with universal constants like equality, there is no end to what we can justify

How can Canadian authorities balance national security against the need to respect civil rights and liberties?

There is no doubt there needs to be more of a focus and resources devoted to making Canada safe and secure But we don't want to use that, as many have, as a pretext to do things we otherwise wouldn't be able to do We have rules and procedures We give the most hardened criminals—murderers and child molesters—the full benefit of the law We do this because we feel philosophically that we don't want to stigmatize an innocent person When prosecuting alleged terrorists, we should use the same standard There is no necessary contradiction between having a safe Canada and preserving fundamental rights

Paul Martin has called an inquiry into the Arar case. What expectations do you have?

The inquiry is a testament to the struggle of the Arar family Canadians have been profoundly moved by the case, and it has thrown up fundamental questions about the worth of Canadian citizenship It has also shed light on whether our security agencies, which are sworn to protect us, work within the law or above the law, and to what extent we have accountability over them Those were the burning issues that propelled Canadians to demand an inquiry We want to see concrete measures come out of the inquiry to make sure that what happened to Arar doesn't happen again to another Canadian

What trends are you noticing among Muslim youth?

They see themselves as being firmly entrenched here There are less emotional ties to the home country, in some cases none at all They have a distinct Canadian and Muslim identity and many people see that as being perfectly compatible and harmonious.

ROGERS sportsnet Magazine

More than the game... the whole story

In *Maclean's* March 8 issue (on newsstands March 1)

Raptor rookie Chris Bosh • What's with the Canucks? • Cy Young winner Eric Gagné • Golf teacher Herb Page



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THE HELPFUL FIXER

Ambassador or lieutenant-governor, James Bartleman is a man on a mission

EXCEPT FOR ONE literally life-choking moment five years ago in a South African hotel room—when he was viciously beaten during a bungled robbery—you'd have to say that James Bartleman, the lieutenant-governor of Ontario, ex diplomat and incorrigible fixer, has lived a charmed life Yes, he grew up poor and marginalized in rural Ontario His earliest recollection: "Port Carling, summer of 1946 We lived in a tent by the dump My mother was an Indian from the reserve My father was an outspoken but well-read white man with Grade 4 education and we kids were all various colours."

But a visiting U S millionaire liked his spirit and paid for his university education. After backpacking through Europe—he just happened to be in a London cathedral when Martin Luther King Jr popped in to repeat his "I have a dream" speech—Bartleman joined Canada's diplomatic corps His career, as his second book, *On Six Continents*, has it, was an almost madcap romp between high-security NATO postings and quixotic Third World missions Toss in a happy marriage and this is a life of fairy-tale proportions Except that would miss the late-in-life depression that forced him to deal with his own eclectic past, and an unrelenting curiosity that propelled him through many of the world's most interesting byways

Like Bangladesh in 1972, when Bartleman opened Canada's first consular mission, at the ripe age of 32 Nearly overwhelmed by the poverty and a raging smallpox epidemic, he cabled high level Ottawa with the World Health Organization plea for $10 million for smallpox vaccines and, to his surprise, the money arrived "I'm called in later and given hell," he says "Didn't go through the Bengalis, didn't go through the proper committees But tens of thousands of lives were saved just like that"

Flash forward, it's the same technique he's employed to bring books to 32 mostly Native communities in Ontario's far north Reading and now writing have been essential to his own life, and when he discovered these places had no libraries, he started a campaign Within three weeks the first of more than 500,000 donated books were being hauled north by army trucks The result fit Bartleman's credo: "See a problem, deal with it Don't dwell on who's to blame."

Bartleman, with the Anishnawbe Street Patrol in downtown Toronto, shining a vice-regal spotlight on the hurt and the marginalized

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

OUR MAN IN CUBA

THE MAIN occupation of everyone—Cubans, visiting sympathizers and diplomats alike—was Castro-watching. For Cuba was a one-man country in 1981, just as it had been ever since Fidel Castro, sporting a long black beard, a cigar clenched in his teeth, and with his favourite rifle cradled in his arms, led his Twenty-Sixth of July Movement out of the mountains to power. Castro dominated everything. His every utterance received lead coverage in the state-controlled newspapers, and on radio and television. His picture, most often accompanied by a text daring the United States to do its worst, was on display provocatively on huge billboards at main intersections and the square in front of the old United States embassy building.

Our first contact occurred within two weeks of our arrival in Havana. The Inter-Parliamentary Union, the organization of parliamentarians, was holding its annual meeting that year in Havana. A senior group of Canadian members of Parliament and senators was in town. Most were predisposed to like Cuba and its president. At the opening ceremony, however, Castro made a virulent speech attacking the U.S. for being an imperialist exploiter and the United Kingdom for oppressing the Catholics of Northern Ireland. Castro's romantic image was destroyed for the Canadians, who had never heard anything like this before. Several started to make plans to leave in protest.

I decided to force a face-to-face meeting between Castro and the Canadian delegation in the hope of heading off a premature departure. It was common knowledge that the telephone lines of all diplomats were tapped by the Ministry of the Interior and that the president was an avid reader of this form of raw intelligence. I therefore made a series of telephone calls to diplomatic colleagues on the open line, loudly telling them that the Canadian delegation was on the point of departing to protest the president's speech, only a personal appearance by Castro that evening at my residence would prevent a walkout. Within 30 minutes, I received a call from a flustered Foreign Affairs official to tell me the president was coming. Within another 30 minutes, a dozen tough, heavily armed Ministry of Interior agents arrived to search our residence for weapons. Before long, technicians arrived to install new telephone equipment and a full medical team was occupying a spare bedroom.



Bartleman and his wife, Marie-Jeanne, with Castro in 1982 at the height of the Cuban's attempts to foment revolution in Latin America



On Six Continents: A Life in Canada's Foreign Service 1966-2002 by James Bartleman. McClelland & Stewart Ltd. $39.95

Fifteen minutes later, the president himself was at the door. Castro joined the Canadian parliamentarians in the library and the charm offensive began. He told the group that he held Canada in great esteem. Canada had stood by Cuba during its darkest hours, resisting pressure from Washington to cut relations and restrict trade. Cuba considered Canada a special friend. He considered himself to be a friend of Prime Minister Trudeau. The monologue continued with the president allowing that he may have been somewhat harsh on the United States and the United Kingdom. However, Cuba was under threat from the United States. With a smile, he said that he had not realized so many Canadians had Irish roots.

The Canadian delegation, with one or two exceptions, was awestruck. To my surprise, after having vehemently criticized Cuba and Castro among themselves, they did not challenge the president when faced with him in the flesh. This scenario was repeated over the two years of our posting. The Cuban president would reduce even the most critical visitor to an admirer with the strength of his personality, the depth of his knowledge, his imposing physical presence, and the revolutionary mystique. He would then send them gifts of the finest cigars and rum, allowing his guests to return to Canada to boast about their intimacy with one of the world's great revolutionary figures. Former external affairs minister Flora MacDonald was the only visitor out of the dozens I brought to see Castro who had the guts to ask him directly about the thousands of political prisoners in his jails. She didn't get a straight answer.

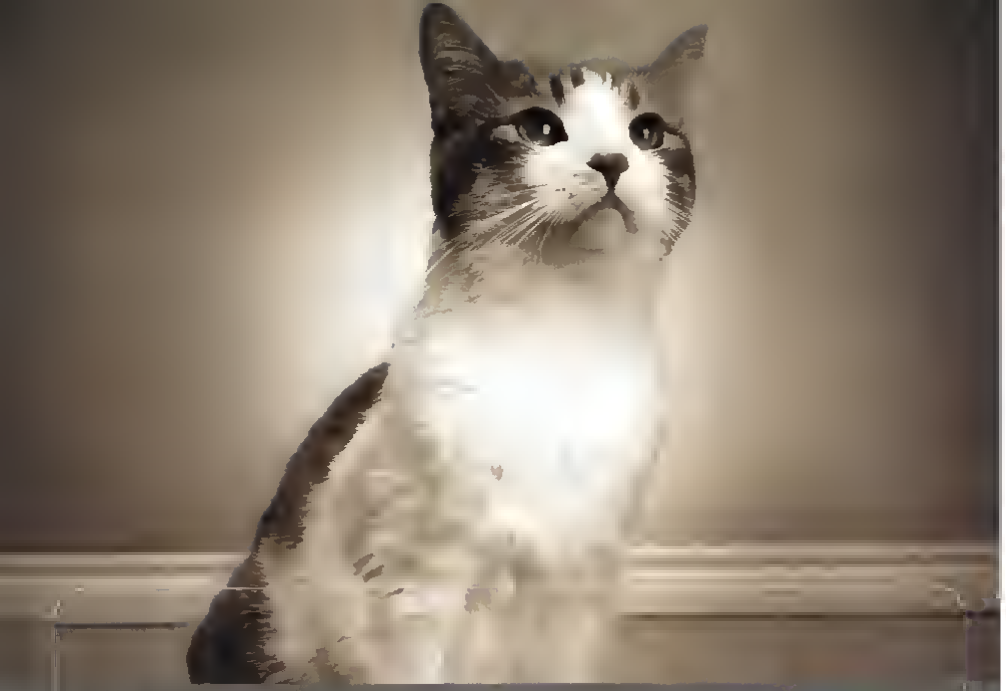
FOR REASONS best known to himself, President Castro maintained a close but ambivalent relationship with me. At the time, I flattered myself in thinking that this was because he valued my views. I had to abandon this ego-enhancing theory when I noted that he never, ever, asked my opinion on anything, and while he would visit for hours, the dialogue was confined to the president talking and to me listening. The real reason was probably that he wanted to send a signal to Prime Minister Trudeau, whose funeral he would attend almost

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two decades later, that he valued their friendship and wanted closer ties with Canada

The president took a close personal interest in our housing situation and made the renovation of the Canadian official residence—which looked remarkably like a dilapidated mansion from *Gone with the Wind*—virtually a Cuban national priority The walls were black from mould and the roof was so rotten that 20-gallon garbage pails had to be placed at strategic locations to catch rainwater Headquarters did not have a budget to cover renovations, but Castro took matters in hand, sending a construction brigade to carry out the work at a price I personally set He appointed the president of the National Assembly, Flavio Bravo, to supervise The residence was completely redone at minimal cost to the Canadian taxpayer

The president became a regular visitor to our residence, coming to dinners and remaining until the small hours of the morning, reminiscing about his days as a student revolutionary in Colombia and elsewhere For security reasons, his office rarely confirmed his acceptance of invitations before he appeared at our door It did not take a genius, however, to read his intentions Ministry of the Interior troops would seal off the neighbourhood, guards would materialize in the garden, the president's personal food taster would take up his position beside the cook in the kitchen The president would then roll up in his big, black Soviet Ziv limousine, leave his Uzi machine pistol on the back seat, and come in to spend the evening with the Bartlemans, wearing, as always, a bulletproof vest under his well-pressed military shirt

THE ATTENTION accorded to me would have been flattering if the Cubans had not at the same time subjected my family and me to constant harassment Shortly after I arrived, a general in the Ministry of the Interior whose cover was that of a senior official in tourism, asked me to override Ottawa's objections and issue him a visa to visit Canada This I refused He was furious, as was his boss I introduced myself to the Minister of the Interior at a function He said, "I know who you are," and turned his back

The first attempt to compromise me was farcical One evening, the telephone rang Still unused to ambassadorial conduct, I answered it, rather than wait for the butler A woman with a sultry voice was on the line. She had seen me at an official function and she wanted to get to know me better Could we not arrange a meeting?

The next evening the telephone rang again and I answered The caller had a large supply of gold He had no means of getting it out of the country. I could become a very rich person if only I would meet him quietly and take it off his hands for a modest price

The third call, the following evening, was from a man He had seen me and I was so handsome He had fallen in love with me and we just had to meet. I gave up answering the phone, although I often wondered what would have been on offer in a fourth call

At the beginning of my second year things became truly nasty One morning, all the Cuban cooks and cleaners employed personally by the 10 other Canadian families at the embassy were either thrown into jail or resigned without warning Someone nailed a dead rat to the door of the commercial officer's house My colleagues at the embassy were besieged by telephone threats The first secretary called to say that his dog had been poisoned and was dead Marie-Jeanne and I checked our dog, Zaka She too had been poisoned We rushed her to a veterinarian, who pumped her stomach and kept her alive for the time being I raced to the Foreign Ministry and demanded to see the director for North America.

My message was blunt "Call off your goons!" He was taken by surprise and grumbled that someone was trying to destroy Canada's relations with Cuba Within minutes of my return home, a Cuban government veterinarian was at the door I shipped Zaka to my parents in Canada in the hope that Canadian veterinarians could restore her to health, but within six months she was dead

The Cuban staff were released from jail and reported for work later the same day The harassing calls to my staff stopped on cue I never learned why the Ministry of the Interior acted that day as it did Whatever the reason, poisoning animals is a despicable act unworthy of agents of a government that claimed to be defending the principles of an enlightened revolution M



At home in Toronto, in what's likely his last posting, two years after being appointed Ontario's lieutenant-governor

POISONING animals is a despicable act unworthy of a government that claimed to be defending the principles of an enlightened revolution

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

BOOKWORM BANDIT

Surgery made him a woman, but what came after turned her into a thief

THE GUN was a fake, but so was the rest of the outfit. Walking away from the Scotia bank in a shopping mall in Belleville, Ont., on Nov. 18, 1998, Christine White felt a jolt of dread sharper than her usual post-robbery nausea. First, there had been that police car in the parking lot. Then there was the bank manager, yelling and chasing her out into the mall—that almost never happened. She showed him the starter's pistol under her jacket, he backed up, and she walked briskly to her car, got in, took off. Minutes later, she was lying on her belly in the mud outside Belleville surrounded by police. It would take them a few hours to work out they'd finally caught the infamous Bookworm Bandit, who'd been robbing banks across the country for 18 months.

It would take them slightly longer to discover their effeminate-looking male was actually a woman—who used to be a man. White didn't much care at that point. "I was tired," she says. She's 55 now, a striking, broad-shouldered woman with ropy arms, wide hands and iron-grey hair, serving time at Quebec's Joliette Institution after transferring there from Burnaby, B.C. "No friends, no home. Would it be so bad just to get caught, so I could stop running for a while?"

She'd been running a long time. Christine White was born Anatoli Misura in Belgium on Nov. 17, 1949, the male and stateless child of Ukrainian refugees. After coming to Canada, the family settled on an isolated farm about 50 km outside Montreal. Anatoli had few friends. White remembers her father as a brooding man with a volatile temper. "He never liked to see my mother wearing shorts, he never liked anything feminine about anybody. He thought that was disgusting. He used to beat my mother and myself, not my brother. We lived in fear." (White's father is deceased and no else from her family could be reached for this article. But during her trial, her estranged brother, Wally Misura, denied the accounts of childhood abuse, calling White a "con artist, liar and manipulator.")



Police slowly realized the effeminate man they had been hunting was actually female

Anatoli was far closer to his mother. "She used to tell me, 'You're my little daughter,'" White says. "I'm closer to her than I am to anybody. She was the glue that kept the family together." Amateur psychologists might point to Anatoli's thorny relationship with a distant father and emotional dependence on his mother as a source of the gender confusion that overtook him in his teens. White's not so sure: she doesn't recall feeling troubled until, at age 18, she started reading stories in newspapers about sex changes. "It stimulated me and confirmed a lot of things in my mind. The more I thought about it, the more I realized I'd never liked my body at all. I never considered myself gay. I was asphyxiated by my own body. I wanted to



be female because women were so much better. They don't have this evil my father had, this anger and violence."

Through his 20s, Anatoli struggled to ignore his growing feelings of unease. He studied mechanical design in Montreal, joined the construction industry in 1970, worked 60- to 70-hour weeks for the distraction. In 1973, he even got married, the union was an unhappy one, and it dissolved in 1983. In 1984, he moved to Edmonton, looking for construction work. In 1990, he wrote a letter to his family, telling them he would be "taking off" for a while.

What he had in mind was transformation. He started the long process that year with hormone therapy. The change was gradual: his walk altered, the pattern of hair on his body shifted. His testicles shrank. The final cut came in November 1993—in Belgium again. Anatoli Misura vanished under general anaesthetic—and Christine White woke up four hours later with a burning pain in her groin. "Unbelievable pain," she recalls. "But when it healed, it felt very natural. I remember thinking, 'Don't have to worry about the toilet seat anymore.'"

The psychological ease with which White morphed from man to woman did not extend

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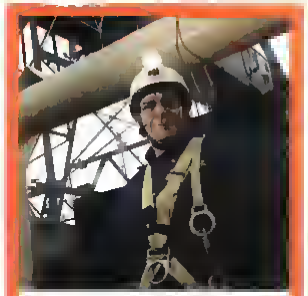
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to the rest of her life By 1994, she'd spent $60,000 on gender reassignment surgery and was living alone in Edmonton, jobless Resumés sent to construction companies got no takers employers, she says, were having a hard time accepting two decades of experience under a different gender Her voice still raspy and strange from vocal cord surgery, she couldn't even get a job waiting tables She wound up working as an escort in Edmonton's bustling sex trade, an experience she now describes in tones of deep disgust "The whole experience was horrible Clients strung out on crack,





As a teen, Anatoli felt asphyxiated by his body and read stories on sex-change operations

double-sided tape for easy removal during the getaway Women's clothing in the trunk, sandwiches in the cooler

White walked away with $1,700 that day, and it led to 18 months of living out of her car, sleeping in truck-stop parking lots, hitting and running from bank to bank. "I kept trying to find work, but the money would run out and I'd have to rob another bank It was starting to sink in by 1998 that I just wasn't going to find a job." But the money was less than great White took about $75,000 during her spree, mostly hitting small town Ontario banks with light security Her biggest single haul, she says, was $7,500, her lightest, just $150

After White's arrest—and after the media knew enough about her to start calling her the "Unisex Bandit"—she was sentenced to 11 years in prison with three years' credit for pretrial custody In December 2003, she transferred from B C to Quebec, to be closer to a lawsuit she's brought against Belleville police for injuries she says she sustained during her arrest At Joliette, she quickly became friendly with the prison's most infamous tenant—Karla Homolka "I don't think she's dangerous," says White "She's a very intelligent person, very perceptive We've had a lot of conversations"

White comes up for parole in the fall She wants to move to Ottawa, maybe become a paralegal No surprise, she's working on a book. Looking back, she still blames "society" for not accepting her transformation and for blocking her efforts to work She acknowledges now that she probably should have gotten counselling "I'll get parole," she says "Just to be able to ride a bicycle through the city, buy some fruit, walk out in my backyard with a drink in my hand and know I don't have to run from anything To use my hands and head for something worthwhile, for a change Stuff the world takes for granted. That's what I want This time, I'm going to get it" M

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AT OSCAR'S ALTAR

Who'll be exalted at that annual High Mass of celebrity, the Academy Awards?

AFTER A YEAR OF MOVIES, and a year of war, America is ready to celebrate the highest ritual of its own deeply held fundamentalist religion: celebrity. Last year's Academy Awards, staged four days after the United States declared war on Iraq, were a muted affair (aside from Michael Moore's diatribe against the President) and drew the lowest TV ratings in the event's history. But the Oscars remain television's biggest annual pageant next to the Super Bowl. And with Billy Crystal hosting this year's show on Feb. 29, it's back to show business as usual. We can look forward to Billy crystallizing the themes of the nominated films with his traditional song-and-dance extravaganza, another vaudevillian essay on the Hollywood Zeitgeist. He has some rich material to work with—queer-as-folk hobbits, drunken buccaneers, a homicidal hooker, a racehorse with a heart of gold. He could sing a geriatric version of *Jack & Diane* to Nicholson and Keaton, croon *Climb Ev'ry (Cold) Mountain* to Renée Zellweger, or talk about the campaign to evict President Bush from the *(White) House of Sand and Fog*.

Over the past year, as America lost itself in *The Fog of War* called Iraq, the movies served up an alternative fantasy, more like The Fun of War. Four of Oscar's five best picture nominees are tales of righteous combat between the powerful and the weak.

The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King and *Seabiscuit* offer heroic sagas of little fellas beating insurmountable odds and healing old wounds—the hobbit on Mount Doom, the jockey on the mount. They tell us the meek shall inherit Middle Earth, and Middle America, if they try really, really hard. *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World*, a bracing maritime antidote to all those ignoble desert storms, allows Americans to indulge in the exotic notion of waging war against a superior military power—and they get to hate the French in the bargain. *Mystic River*, Clint Eastwood's Stygian cruise into the Yankee heartland, is the one nominated film in which evil wins. This tragedy of gangsterish vengeance, with delusions of Shakespearean grandeur, is also the only serious drama in the bunch. (Pointedly, *Cold Mountain*, the year's sole anti-war epic, was snubbed, although it's the kind of sweeping spectacle that Oscar usually adores.)

That leaves *Lost in Translation*. The fifth best picture nominee is a Zen oasis amid all these moral fables, the one movie that's not about underdogs fighting bullies. It's a tale of two lost souls in a fishbowl, platonic lovers becalmed in a foreign sea of incomprehension. I loved *Lost in Translation*, and wouldn't want to read too much into it. But it's tempting to see it as a *post*-war movie in the aftermath of history, a couple of quiet Americans go through the dislocated motions of a karaoke romance in a Tokyo hotel.

POINTEDLY, the anti-war *Cold Mountain* was snubbed, although it's the kind of spectacle Oscar usually adores

The Lord of the Rings and *Lost in Translation* lie at opposite ends of the filmmaking spectrum. It seems a safe bet that *Rings* will win best picture, along with a passel of technical prizes. Its main competition is *Mystic River*, which has gravity on its side—always revered at the Oscars—and some high-octane acting. But after delivering a blockbuster grand slam, Peter Jackson will finally win the prize for best director.

What's odd about this year's Academy Awards is the gulf between the movies and the performances. Of the 20 nominated actors, only four are in films nominated for best picture: Bill Murray for *Lost in Translation*, and Sean Penn, Tim Robbins and Marcia Gay Harden for *Mystic River*. In the supporting roles, Robbins should win for his brooding performance as a murder suspect traumatized by a childhood rape—unless he's trumped by Alec Baldwin's casino sadist from *The Cooler*. Harden, who plays Robbins' wife, will likely lose to Zellweger, who heats up *Cold Mountain* with her flamboyant turn as a scruffy pioneer woman.

Penn and Murray, meanwhile, square off as a compelling study in opposites. Penn is an actor's actor, long overdue for recognition, and this is his fourth Oscar nomination. As *Mystic River*'s Jimmy Markum, he shows tremendous range, evolving from a father stricken by his daughter's murder to a cold-blooded avenger in bed with Lady Macbeth (Laura Linney). Framed by Eastwood's ponderous direction—Clint hauls out the heavy artillery of a crane shot to hammer home Jimmy's anguish at his daughter's death—Penn displays the kind of emotional bravado that Oscar loves. It's a meaty, entertaining performance, but not his best. I preferred his more measured work in *21 Grams*.

As for Murray, this is his first nomination, and he seems unlikely to win for a deadpan role in which he appears to *do* so little. It's too easy to conclude that he's just playing himself. But as a jaded actor making a Japanese whiskey commercial—who finds a transient soulmate in a younger woman (the overlooked Scarlett Johansson)—Murray creates a more natural character than any of his fellow nominees. With his unique blend of wit and melancholy, he gives the most distilled performance of his career. And who would *you* rather see give an acceptance speech, Sean Penn or Bill Murray?



The best actress contest comes down to another face-off between tragic and comic—between Charlize Theron's scary tour de force as a serial killer in *Monster* and Diane Keaton's disarming portrayal of a playwright who tames Jack Nicholson's heart in *Something's Gotta Give*. But my vote would go to Naomi Watts for her scalding performance opposite Penn in *21 Grams*, even though Theron is the clear favourite. *Monster* is this year's *Monster's Ball* and, like Halle Berry, she's shown that she's more than a pretty face, by gaining 30 lb. and blunting her beauty with latex skin and prosthetic teeth. Oscar likes nothing better than physically expressive acting. Playing both bully and victim, Theron acts up a storm, a stunt that Chicago critic Roger Ebert (hoisting his thumbs to untold heights) hailed as "one of the greatest performances in the history of cinema."

In an industry that worships stars at the expense of art, it's not surprising that the actors tend to be more convincing than the movies. A.O. Scott, a critic for the *New York Times*, recently suggested that we've entered a new "golden age of screen acting," distinguished by an unprecedented threshold of realism. That may be true. But it's a theatrical realism.

Aside from Murray, all the best actor nominees are marooned in fantastical scenarios. Johnny Depp's Keith Richards impersonation elevates *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* to high camp. Ben Kingsley's Iranian immigrant cuts through the dense melodrama of *House of Sand and Fog* like a laser. And *Cold Mountain*'s Jude Law, though beautifully understated, plays a hopeless romantic who trudges through hell to reunite with a woman he's barely met. Among the actresses, the most natural performances are again hinged to stories that are anything but realistic—from Watts making love to the man who's received her dead husband's transplanted heart to 13-year-old Keisha Castle-Hughes fulfilling the destiny of her title role in *Whale Rider*.

For unadulterated realism, we turn to documentaries, which were among the year's strongest films. The four nominees that I've seen all engage in a kind of forensic history—from *The Weather Underground*, which disinters a chapter of American terrorism, to *My Architect*, a son's attempt to understand the secret life of his esteemed father, architect Louis Kahn. But the real contest is between *Capturing the Friedmans*, the home movie from hell about child abuse, and *The Fog of War*, about the enigma of former U.S. defense secretary Robert S. McNamara. *Capturing the Friedmans* uncovers a remarkable story. But my vote goes to *The Fog of War*: Errol Morris's poetic inquiry into the business of military slaughter transcends documentary realism, and makes us think about Iraq without ever mentioning it.

Hollywood dominates the Oscars so thoroughly, you can almost forget there's something called world cinema. But aside from co-producing *The Lord of the Rings*, New Zealand gave us *Whale Rider*. Brazil's slum warfare drama *City of God* has four nominations. And *The Barbarian Invasions*, by Quebec's Denys Arcand, is nominated for original screenplay and foreign-language film—expect it to win the latter. Those looking for hometown heroes can also cheer on the Canadian co-produced animated feature *The Triplets of Belleville*, the animated short *Nibbles* and Howard Shore, composer for *The Lord of the Rings*. But no matter how much Oscar loves big movies about the little people, its celebrity altar has no room for lesser mortals. So don't expect a *Barbarian Invasions* gag from Billy Crystal. M

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN DELAND/A.N.P.L.S.



NYA, NYA, NYA-*NYA*-NYA

It's a West Coast February, and I'm thumbing my nose at other Canadians

SCHADENFREUDE / SHAD-n-froid ah / German noun meaning taking pleasure from bad things that happen to other people

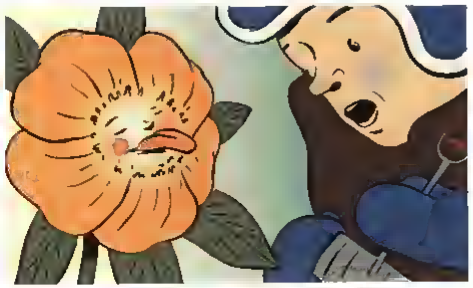
Schadenfreudeh / SHAD-n-froid-ay? / Canadian variant meaning taking pleasure from frigid weather that happens to other Canadians

OK, so I made that second one up But by tacking the overused Canadian "eh" onto *schaden* (harm) and *freude* (joy), Mel Hurtig can put it in his *Canadian Encyclopedia*

And besides, there's clearly a need for such a word.

It's late February and the blossoms are just about to bloom on the thousands of cherry trees that blanket the southwest coast of B C , filling the air with a hypnotic, if not erotic, fragrance The daffodils should start in a week and those birds that left town for a fortnight of California sun are coming back to their nests And that surefire sound of spring, the 6.5 horsepower Lawn-Boy, is an ever-present hum on sunny weekends In Victoria, they're in the midst of the annual flower count, and with luck, they'll find a billion more than last year

I understand, however, that much of the country has been (and will continue to be) plagued by ice, snow, ridiculously cold temperatures, burst pipes, altogether abominable weather, and my personal favourite, frozen slush, until April Or May Aw!



Of course, it isn't enough just to play golf in February, garden in March or go boating in April. You can phone people east of the Rockies and gloat—preferably on a day when your friend in Toronto is shovelling his driveway after a huge dump of snow, or your brother in Montreal is plugging in the block heater in his car so the engine doesn't go cryogenic

I, for one, think this is one of those things that keeps B.C. in Confederation The ability to phone our fellow citizens in Calgary after one of its regular June snowstorms allows us to taunt them for boasting about cheaper wine prices and the lack of a provincial sales tax. Cellphones make it even easier From anywhere, I can call my brother in Montreal in March and innocently start the conversation with the question, "Hi Kerry, is it hot—or not?" Naturally, this guilty pleasure has its side effects: a tad too much smugness among those of us living in Lotus Land, and higher-than-average cellphone bills. ("Plugging in your car? Why? Is it one of those new electric models?")

I suppose bragging about blossoms says as much about the West Coast psyche as it does about the landscape We don't just enjoy the flowers this time of year, we respond to them as though they're a signal designed to trigger mating rituals The flowering trees give off a magnificent fragrance that wafts around the city like airborne Viagra, so the clothes start coming off, layer by layer, week by week For women, the threshold for bare skin is proportional to the number of goosebumps they're prepared to endure before the official end of winter For the men, masculinity must be proven. Take the top off the convertible. Leave the raincoat at home To hell with the jacket and tie—I'm going outside to Starbucks to buy an ice-cold Frappuccino!

Many Canadians don't know there are now hundreds of palm trees happily growing in parks, green spaces and lawns throughout Vancouver and Victoria The provincial capital, in fact, now holds an annual palm tree count in conjunction with its flower count, with the tweedy municipality of Oak Bay claiming the title of Palm Tree Capital of Canada. Needless to say, the palm trees are always part of the neighbourhood tour when our Toronto friends come to town

Admittedly, we cheat a bit this time of year I religiously wear my Tilley shorts on weekends commencing in March, just so I can say I do. But I'll only eat lunch outside at restaurants that have outdoor gas heaters blazing away above me The top may be down on my wife's convertible on sunny days, but the heat and the windows are way up And if my flooded basement could talk, it would tell you it tends to rain here A lot So blossoms and boasting notwithstanding, it's not L.A

And once every seven or eight years, the rest of Canada gets to gloat, at our collective regional expense, when a rare snowfall paralyzes Vancouver and Victoria for a few days, making the fine art of *schadenfreudeh* a truly national experience But when an old friend from Toronto taunted me about our brief cold snap in January, I reminded him of what Winston Churchill once said to Lady Astor when she accused him of being drunk. "And you, Madame, are ugly, but in the morning I shall be sober." So in other words, today may be miserable, but tomorrow, I'll be near my palm tree, pruning the rhodos In my shorts With my cellphone on

Tony Wilson is a Vancouver lawyer and writer now completing his first book, *Confessions of a Former Keg Waiter: Misadventures in the Surf 'n' Turf Trade* To comment: overtoyou@macleans.ca

ILLUSTRATION BY JASON SCHNEIDER

CLOSINGNOTES



PHOTOGRAPH BY REGINA GARCIA

People | Playing to the beat of his own drummer

Joel Kroeker likes things his way "I run the show," he says. "I hire my musicians for particular purposes with the understanding we're not trying to be **U2**. I don't want a permanent band because I'm not looking for a totally consistent sound over the next 20 years I want to be able to do a lot of different things."



Melodrama (True North), a mix of rock, pop, jazz and folk, is on store shelves Feb 24

Kroeker, 30, proves his range on *Melodrama*—his major-label debut—by blending pop, jazz, folk and rock The album, more fine-tuned than most rookie releases, is a product of Kroeker's master's in ethnomusicology and popular music studies from the University of Alberta, and his work during the last several years writing film scores and co-writing songs for other artists It also helps that Kroeker was born into a Mennonite family of musicians in Winnipeg. "Music is a big part of the Mennonite culture—but it's mainly choral singing," says Kroeker, who now lives in Vancouver "When I started into rock it was a scary thing for the whole clan at home. They support me but don't really understand what I'm doing." At least they know he's doing it his way JOHN INTINI

LISTINGS

Montreal International Children's Film Festival
Feb. 28-March 7
The Cinéma Beaubien is screening some of the finest movies for the whole family
http://www.cinemabeaubien.com/fifem
Montreal

Exclaim! Cross-Canada Concert Series
March 2-9
All-Canadian lineup on the Western leg of its tour, including performances by Broken Social Scene and the Stills.
http://www.exclaim.ca/index.asp?layid=22&csid1=2256
Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon and Winnipeg

Canvas of War: Masterpieces from the Canadian War Museum
Until May 16
The museum highlights 72 works by artists including Alex Colville and members of the Group of Seven
www.vanartgallery.bc.ca
Vancouver

Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum
Feb. 28-June 6
The Royal Ontario Museum presents 144 pieces of Egyptian art—including mummy masks, coffins and jewellery—spanning more than 3,000 years.
www.rom.on.ca/exhibits/egypt/
Toronto

DVD | *Mambo Italiano*



Audiences and critics loved the film, which played off every conceivable Italian stereotype to tell the funny tale of a family of immigrants in Montreal dealing with the fact their son's gay. But the shortage of DVD extras suggests the producers left little on the cutting room floor.



John Intini starts a sentence ... Melissa Etheridge finishes it

When she was 12, **Melissa Etheridge**'s parents sent her to a vocal coach to fix her raspy voice. Good thing her teacher didn't think there was anything wrong with it. Etheridge's distinctive sound has made her into a two-time Grammy winner. Last month, the 42-year-old from Leavenworth, Kan., released *Lucky*—her eighth studio album—and finished *Maclean's* Assistant Editor **John Intini**'s sentences.

TAKING RISKS . . . is good sometimes, but I don't take a lot of them musically. I'm your standard three-chord rock 'n' roll type.

IT'S HARD FOR ME . . . to understand the culture of skin and bones that exists in Hollywood. Everyone is dying to be thin in L.A. It's a sickness. When I went through a breakup, I lost a lot of weight, so I guess I equate being thin to that time in my life.

STANDING UP FOR MYSELF . . . is something I've always been able to do musically, but until a few years ago was not so good at personally and emotionally.

GEORGE W. BUSH . . . go home. When he was elected president—or rather when he took office—I was disheartened, but wasn't one of those doom and gloom types. I figured that it would just be four years and we'd get through it. I had no idea the effect he'd have with some of the choices he would make.

WHEN I SPLURGE ON MYSELF . . . I'll charter a private plane. I'm not really into material things. As long as I have a nice house and a couple of cars, I'm happy.

IF I COULD CHANGE ONE THING ABOUT MYSELF . . . I'd like to be a bit taller. Just a bit. I'm five foot two and shorter than people think. Actually, I'm shorter than *I* think.

FOR MORE "FINISH THE SENTENCES" VISIT WWW.MACLEANS.CA/PEOPLE

ESSENTIAL ETHERIDGE

1. Cemented career with *Yes I Am* (1993).
2. David Crosby of Crosby, Stills & Nash is the biological father of her two children with former partner Julie Cypher.
3. Wed actress Tammy Lynn Michaels in a commitment ceremony last fall.

Film | Nia's singing for her supper

Nia Vardalos bounces happily past the front desk and into the tony, cloistered confines of the Chateau Marmont in West Hollywood. "This place is so trendy they don't care about me," says Vardalos, by way of explaining why she agreed to meet at the famed Sunset Boulevard locale. "I walked in, they looked like 'Is that Kate Hudson? No? I don't care.'"

Vardalos welcomes the haughty indifference. In fact, since the smash success of her 2002 surprise hit, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, it comes as a bit of a relief. She always carries a hat with her in case she needs a disguise. And a fan even snuck up to her California home to photograph her through a window. "I guess because I'm from Winnipeg, I really don't worry about looking good," says Vardalos, 41, of the unnerving experience. "I worry about *nudity*."

Curled up on an oversized couch, Vardalos sips a low-fat, decaffeinated latte and explains why CBS canned *My Big Fat Greek Life*—the TV spinoff of her movie—last May. CBS rushed the show into production, recounts Vardalos, who says she couldn't find enough time to write scripts to please studio executives. "I was busy in Europe promoting the 'film that wouldn't end,'" she says. "And they were chomping at the bit so they hired several writers I'd never met." The result: a big fat flop. "It was an awful experience to be absolutely told that my opinion didn't matter," says Vardalos. "And that I wasn't allowed to impact the emotional and comedic quality of the scripts."

So Vardalos has returned to what made her famous—the big screen. She wrote and stars in *Connie and Carla*, along with **Toni Collette** and **David Duchovny**. The romantic comedy, due in theatres on April 16, is about two cheesy dinner theatre singers forced to go undercover as cabaret drag queens after witnessing a mob hit. "We've done three test market screenings," says Vardalos with an excited giggle. "It tested as high as *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*!" Which brings us full circle to murmurings of a sequel to the hit. "We're just starting to talk about it," she says. "Wouldn't it be fun? I want a free trip to Greece out of it." Stranger things have happened.

DANYLO HAWALESHKA



CYNTHIA DANIEL (TOP). COURTESY OF UNIVERSAL STUDIOS



People | Maybe cowboys do cry

George Canyon looks like a tough guy. But ignore his square jaw and middle-linebacker build and you realize he's a pretty emotional cowboy. In fact, when the country singer from Pictou County, N.S., talks about how much he misses his kids while on tour, he gets a bit choked up. "Family is the most important thing in my life," says Canyon, 33, peeking out from under his cowboy hat, "and it near breaks my heart every time I go on the road."

> "Family is the most important thing in my life and it near breaks my heart every time I go on the road"

But Canyon will need to pull himself together now that he's a top-20 finalist in *Nashville Star*—the country music equivalent of *American Idol*, on CMT Canada starting March 7. If things go well, the competition's only Canadian will find himself living with 10 other finalists in a Nashville home equipped with cameras that record their every move. And while Canyon dreads being separated for two months from his wife Jennifer and their two kids, the ultimate prize of a recording deal with Sony Music Nashville dulls the pain.

It would also make an instant star of Canyon, who spent the better part of the past 11 years based in Alberta and playing small gigs across Canada. "I thought I might be getting up there in age, but that's the amazing thing about country music," says Canyon, who releases his currently untitled second album later this year. "Some of the best country singers didn't break in until much later in life." Something else to get emotional about.

JOHN INTINI

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

Books | Fighting for a combat-ready military

Historian Jack Granatstein is no Maoist, but he shares one bedrock belief with the former Chinese dictator: "Power still comes primarily from the barrel of a gun," he writes in his splendid polemic, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* (HarperCollins). It's not a book to dip into. Open it at page 159 and the author answers his title question with "Brian Mulroney," on page 124 he's even more unequivocal—"without a doubt, Pierre Trudeau." Others also receive a share of the blame, and it's not until near the end that Granatstein gives his final word: "We all did." Although he realizes most Canadians do not share his pro-military views, Granatstein is dogged in presenting his case. Canada needs armed forces with teeth if it's going to regain any of the influence it had after the Second World War, he writes, and that will require 20,000 more personnel and a "staggering sum" of money.



BestSellers

Fiction

		POSITION LAST WEEK
1	THE DA VINCI CODE, Dan Brown (38)	1
2.	ABSOLUTE FRIENDS, John le Carré (6)	2
3	THE FIVE PEOPLE YOU MEET IN HEAVEN, Mitch Albom (18)	4
4.	THE CURIOUS INCIDENT OF THE DOG IN THE NIGHT-TIME, Mark Haddon (9)	3
5.	NEW SPRING, Robert Jordan (4)	5
6.	THE LAST JUROR, John Grisham (1)	
7	MR. PARADISE, Elmore Leonard (5)	7
8.	CLOTHAR THE FRANK, Jack Whyte (2)	6
9.	THE AMATEUR MARRIAGE, Anne Tyler (1)	
10.	THE WAY THE CROW FLIES, Ann-Marie MacDonald (21)	8

Non-Fiction

1.	SHAKE HANDS WITH THE DEVIL, Roméo Dallaire (17)	1
2.	THE PRICE OF LOYALTY, Ron Suskind (4)	4
3.	NEGEMONY OR SURVIVAL, Noam Chomsky (12)	2
4.	DUDE, WHERE'S MY COUNTRY?, Michael Moore (19)	6
5.	THE MEANING OF EVERYTHING, Simon Winchester (9)	8
6.	AN EMBARRASSMENT OF MANGOES, Ann Vanderhoof (1)	
7	1968, Mark Kurlansky (5)	5
8.	GOD'S SECRETARIES, Adam Nicolson (9)	3
9.	ELIZABETH & MARY, Jane Dunn (3)	10
10.	SCURVY, Stephen Bown (5)	9

( ) Weeks on list
Compiled by Brian Bethune

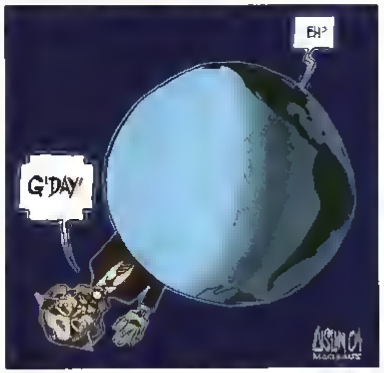


A THOUGHTFUL POLITICIAN!

Premier Bob Carr is erudite and successful. Too bad he lives in Australia.

I HAVE found an erudite, serious, thoughtful, successful politician. Perhaps you will not be surprised to learn I had to go halfway around the world to find him.

His name is Bob Carr. He has been premier of the state of New South Wales, in Australia, since 1995. He's roughly the equivalent of a Canadian provincial premier, only luckier, because he gets to live in Sydney. He has been premier for almost as long as Jean Chrétien was prime minister and seems even harder to dislodge from office. But it is not longevity or popularity that is so striking about Carr. It is his skill as a writer.



I came home with autographed copies of two of his books. One is a slim patriotic essay, *What Australia Means to Me*. The other is *Thoughtlines*, a thumping anthology of his essays over the years. Before he ran for office he was a newsmagazine reporter—humble beginnings indeed. He still does his own reading, his own thinking, his own writing. That alone would make him a rare bird, but the *quality* of his reading, thinking and writing makes him unique.

He is a fan of Marcus Aurelius, the second century Roman philosopher-emperor. "Remember," he quotes Aurelius, "your part is to be serene, to be simple." Handy advice for any politician—this life is just one damned thing after another, as Paul Martin is discovering. Carr quotes the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, who was asked what dominated his career. Macmillan's answer: "Events."

Students of Marcus Aurelius (and Abe Lincoln, another Carr hero) are generally pragmatists. Carr's party is Australian Labor, but he spends much of his time lecturing its ideologues in tones that would shock any left-thinking Canadian New Democrat. He has kind words for Margaret Thatcher. Henry Kissinger has kind words for him. In 1978 Carr reminded Labor militants "denouncing capitalism in flesh-creeping terms" that out in the countryside the party had real live candidates "battling to win and hold seats that are vital to the party's overall success."

He has worked for years on an unpublished satirical novel about left-wing politics, *Titanic Forces*. In *Thoughtlines*, he included a few chapters that suggest the book would be a gold mine of political wisdom. In one, a bright, urbane young candidate tries to knock off a doddering populist hack at a nomination meeting. He watches the old fool speak: "Sometimes Hegerty's mind would blank in the middle of a speech and one of his supporters would help him out. He was profoundly bad. At this moment I realized how deeply I hated him."

But then the smart aleck young pro gets up and tries to win the crowd over—and they're not having any of it. This guy *knows* he's smarter than the veteran, but he can't connect. He bitterly realizes he's been beaten. "I thought of an expression I had once come across. 'An idiot of genius.'"

Even more than the depth of his learning—the novelist David Malouf told me Carr can perform party tricks like naming every U.S. vice-president from 1776 to Dick Cheney—what was most striking to this visiting Canadian was Carr's bluntness and optimism.

Bluntness: in a speech to journalists (the chapter carries the title, "Good Evening, Reptiles"), this former journalist eviscerates my kind with the kind of savage humour we almost certainly deserve. "What a profession. You wake up, you feel inadequate, you feel anxious, life is passing you by. You go to the desk, pick a victim. Some innocent person doing his job, just pick a victim. Prolific invectives, abuse, all supported by craftily contrived half-quotes, misrepresentations, cunning little non attributed views of other people, twisted anecdotes."

No Canadian politician would dare talk to us like that, and all I can say is thank God.

Optimism: a constant theme in Carr's speeches and writing is that Australians can do great things. This is true even when he is speaking about political opponents and about governments. Labor opposed "Governments in this country—from both sides of the political divide—are capable of getting it right, of smart decisions. Other countries have not been so smart. We have."

It is breathtaking for a Canadian to read that. Here is an exercise for every ambitious Canadian politician: give a speech about something your opponent did right. You might even wind up holding power for as long as Carr has.

Most of these impressions came from reading Carr. His communications director, Walter Secord—a Canadian, born in Hamilton—took me in to meet the man for only a few minutes. I asked the scholar premier what preoccupies him these days. He rolled his eyes. "Services. Just keeping health care and transit working."

What dominates this fascinating man's career? Events. At least he was well-read enough to expect no better. M

To comment: backpage@macleans.ca
Read Paul Wells's Weblog, "Inkless Wells," at *www.macleans.ca/paulwells*

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